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THE text of Mr. Wilson's note declaring that unless Great Britain, France, and Italy reach a conclusion as to the Adriatic question which is satisfactory to the United States, the United States will no longer concern itself with European affairs, has not at this writing been made public, and detailed comment upon it must, accordingly, be reserved. Precisely what the differences are between the terms of the settlement agreed upon at the London conference, in December, to which the United States was a party, and those now in controversy, may be seen from documents printed elsewhere in this issue. Coming as the incident does, however, close on the heels of Secretary Lansing's dismissal, its effect is disquieting. How Italy and Yugoslavia shall settle their boundary dispute is, in the main, not an American affair. When, however, the United States recognized the independence of Yugoslavia with its boundaries still undetermined; when it refused to denounce the secret treaty of London; and when Mr. Wilson virtually insisted upon having the whole peace settlement made according to his mind, he entangled the United States to its own embarrassment in the Adriatic controversy as in others. One wonders if he now thinks that a "firm tone" with the Powers will restore his lost prestige.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S speech at the reopening of Parliament, on February 10, was about as inconclusive as the speech of a Prime Minister on such an occasion could

easily be. There was the usual reference to the barbarous methods of the Bolsheviki, joined to the assurance that no country will make peace with Russia until Russia itself shall have adopted a civilized government. In the face of accomplished facts which all the world knows, Mr. Lloyd George is still content to juggle with words by declaring that "there is no established Government possessing the right to speak for the whole of European Russia." He admits, however, that the attempt to bring Russia to terms by military force has failed, and that the "sobering influence" of commerce is now to be exerted. This, we take it, will impart to the new approach to Russia a sort of missionary character. With a wave of the hand he dismisses the fear of "a Bolshevik invasion of surrounding countries or the Middle East," because "the Bolsheviki cannot organize a powerful army." As for Ireland, it is the duty of the Government to maintain law and order there; as for the high cost of living, the trouble is with the depreciation of money, not with profiteering. The coming budget, he was happy to say, "would balance and more than balance." What program, if any, the Government has for dealing with the serious questions of labor, industry, land, education, etc., which vex the country was not, apparently, revealed. No wonder that the English press criticizes Mr. Lloyd George sharply for clinging to his old policy of evasion and compromise when there is real work to be done, and warns him that the patience of the public is about exhausted.

WITH the exception of Germany, there are signs that continental Europe has made up its mind to go ahead without American help, and is settling down to work. The Nord railway in France reports that less than twenty miles of its lines are still out of service; and 250 of the 265 miles of canals destroyed have been restored. Belgian export figures show an even larger export of pottery, of articles made of wood, and of boots and shoes than before the war. The Belgian cotton mills have been restored, and exports in October had already mounted to more than half the pre-war figure. Even in Poland the Donetz basin coal mines have increased their rate of production from 0.6 tons per man per day, the level to which it had sunk in 1916, to 0.8 tons per man per day—a slight change, but indicating the upward swing of the pendulum. Italy is exporting almost half as much again as in 1913; the difficulty of the economic situation there is that imports are six times greater. Germany, despite the propaganda reports to which the American press gives prominence, is still in the economic doldrums. In the first nine months of 1919 the Prussian coal mines, notwithstanding an increase of 10 per cent. in the number of men employed, produced one-third less coal than in the previous year. The lignite mines had an even worse record. A questionnaire sent to the German chambers of commerce brought replies which indicated an average reduction in output of at least 50 per cent. The improved food conditions and the tendency to revert to the piece-work system of payment are said to have brought about a slight gain in recent weeks, but it is evident that German industry is lagging.

"WHY Kolchak failed" is told with convincing frankness by a special correspondent of the London *Times* in a delayed dispatch of January 20, published on January 27, from Harbin. From the time the retreating army left the Urals there was, according to this writer, "no serious opposition whatever to the Bolsheviks" save on one occasion. "All reports of serious fighting may be disregarded as imaginations on the part of the military staffs. At Omsk, 40,000 troops surrendered without firing a shot." Practically the whole immense military organization of the Kolchak army was "rotten" almost from the first; and the troops, "mostly forcibly mobilized," became increasingly dissatisfied, "and simply went over to the enemy in masses at every opportunity." As for the Admiral himself, "his nerves have never been equal to the occasion." "Nothing short of the active intervention of the Allied troops," the correspondent concludes, "could have kept the Siberian army together, and, that failing, everything went to pieces." It would be interesting, if space permitted, to go back over the file of the *Times* for the past year and note the character of the dispatches and editorials in which the Kolchak adventure was commended. Perhaps the American supporters of Admiral Kolchak, if any remain, will feel moved to explain their reasons for upholding his cause.

FOLLOWING upon occasional reports during several months of minor disturbances, such as student riots and demonstrations, in Korea, news of an evidently important uprising against the Japanese has, with significant suddenness, flashed into and out of the press. A battle was reported on February 9 between 2,000 Korean troops, "armed mainly by the Bolsheviks," and troops of a Japanese post in northern Korea, in which 300 Japanese were killed and the rest routed. The Koreans were said to have advanced from Manchuria, and a Moscow dispatch of the same date reported a rising of the population to aid the advancing and victorious rebels. A brief "official" dispatch from Japan denying the report was published three days later; since then no news of any sort has appeared. Without accepting as fact the stories of Bolshevik equipment of troops or of Bolshevik sympathies among Korean refugees in Manchuria, the main statements of the original report are not to be dismissed on the basis of a mere official denial. Japan is facing in Korea just the situation that Great Britain is facing in India and Egypt. It is distributing material benefits, organizing education, promising political reform, and all the while exhibiting the dominant characteristic of all imperialist Powers—a complete lack of understanding of the chief element in the situation, namely, the universal craving for freedom that transcends all desire for material betterment.

THE foreign exchange situation as a whole does not improve, the daily quotations continuing to represent only unimportant variations from the already phenomenally low rates. There is still talk of holding an international economic conference in Europe sometime in March, but with this exception no plan of concerted action by Governments, or by business men in different countries, appears to have been seriously contemplated. The disposition is apparently growing to leave the settlement of the difficulty in the main to the financial and business public, and to avoid direct government intervention as far as possible. It is, perhaps, to this end that certain practical and common-sense suggestions

have lately been given prominence in the American and foreign press. It is pointed out, for example, that the lavish expenditure upon luxuries which is still going on is, in the case of Europe at least, out of all proportion to the producing activities of the countries concerned, and that so long as a country produces comparatively little and imports a great deal, foreign exchange will continue to be depressed. The obvious moral is that if any country really wishes to see its own exchange situation improve, it can help the process by working harder, producing more, importing fewer unnecessary articles, and living so far as possible upon the products of its own fields, factories, and mines. The purchase of foreign securities, some of which are just now being extensively advertised in the American market, may also help to restore the foreign exchange balance.

WHEN the fifty-first and last convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the first meeting of the League of Women Voters (which now replaces the former organization) met at Chicago last week, it was with the satisfaction of knowing that thirty-one States had ratified the Constitutional Amendment giving women the vote. Arizona, the thirty-first State, approved the measure on February 12. Idaho had taken similar action on February 11, and New Jersey on February 10. The ratification by New Jersey was peculiarly important because that Commonwealth had been regarded as pivotal. The Amendment encountered strong opposition from the followers of Mr. John R. Nugent, but finally passed the Assembly by a vote of 34 to 24, the Senate having accepted it a week earlier. The hope that the necessary thirty-six States would ratify the Amendment before the anniversary of the birth of Susan B. Anthony, on February 15, has not been realized, but victory nevertheless appears to be near. It was predicted at the Chicago meeting that New Mexico, Oklahoma, Delaware, West Virginia, and Connecticut would take favorable action shortly. It is to be hoped that those States or others will act with sufficient promptness to permit the women of the country to take part in the Presidential primary elections that come next month.

THE overwhelming vote of 149 to 7 in the Democratic caucus against the proposal of peace-time conscription in the shape of universal military service was given after the reading of a letter from Mr. Wilson urging the party to abdicate its Congressional function in the matter, and to leave the grave issue of militarism in America until the party convention meets in San Francisco. The prompt disregard of this extraordinary request is variously represented as being and as not being a slap at the President. As to that, each may decide for himself. The action was not, however, unexpected; nor is it to be explained, as some of the newspapers are doing, merely by saying that it was due to a fear of the cost of universal service, which is variously estimated at from \$700,000,000 to more than \$1,000,000,000 a year. The saving of so vast a sum is desirable and necessary, of course, but beyond that is the unquestionable fact that the majority of the American people are opposed to the plan. It is a proposition which, if put to a popular referendum, would have no chance of approval. Militarists like Senator Wadsworth and Representative Kahn know that the popular tide runs against them, and that it is now or never if they are to take this leaf out of the Kaiser's book. It is to be hoped that the proposal will not be accepted by

Congress after the Democratic caucus vote, especially in view of the opposition of influential Republicans like Congressman Mondell. There is, however, grave danger that so much of the present Wadsworth Army bill as provides for automatic conscription not only in time of war, but in time of national emergency, will pass. If that happens, conscription can be put on us by the fiat of the Executive at any time when it is deemed that an emergency exists; and with conscription the Espionage act and other muzzling acts will also come into play.

IN spite of the often-expressed opposition of Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, to seeing that organization enter politics as a party, the recent declaration of policy put out by the Federation is probably a move in that direction. The present aim is non-partisan, but it will hardly remain so long. According to the announcement, local labor committees will be appointed throughout the country to scrutinize the records of candidates and recommend for trade union support what are regarded as the best men, regardless of party. The intention is to begin with the primary election, and thus secure as candidates men who are friendly to labor. It is not likely that all this will come to much. The idea has been tried for a good many years in municipal elections by various committees and organizations, and not with great success. The average citizen commonly finds little choice between the candidates of the two big parties, and the trade union committees will have the same alternatives. The scheme of the Federation is significant, however, as the first retaliatory move against present political control—a control which has not hesitated in the last year to deprive organized labor of the weapon of the strike, as well as of the right of free speech and assembly.

THE report of the Reconstruction Commission of the State of New York, transmitted to the Legislature by Governor Smith on February 9, makes a stout volume of more than 400 pages. Briefly summarized, the recommendations of the Commission comprise a budget system; the lengthening of the terms of office of the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, and the Comptroller to four years; the appointment by the Governor, with the consent of the Senate, of all heads of departments except the Comptroller, who will be elected, and the members of all boards, with the right in the Governor to remove such appointees at his discretion; and the creation of nineteen civil departments in place of the present miscellaneous array of departments, bureaus, boards, and commissions. The annual budget, to be prepared and submitted by the Governor, is to be considered by standing committees of each House sitting jointly in open session, and is not to be altered or amended save by striking out or reducing items. Appropriations not covered by the budget are to be made only in supplementary bills, each of which must be for a single object. Drafts of three proposed Constitutional Amendments, necessary if the recommendations of the Commission are to be put into effect, accompany the report. In urging upon the Legislature a prompt consideration of the report, Governor Smith asks that no legislation which takes control from the Governor should be acted upon until the report has been dealt with.

REGRETTABLE as was the bloodshed at Lexington, Kentucky, on February 9, when State troops killed five members of the mob which sought to lynch a negro who had

brutally killed a young white girl, it was nevertheless the most salutary lesson in law and order that the country has had in a decade. The mob made its attack upon the court house at the very moment when the prisoner was being found guilty and sentenced to death. Only a week had elapsed since the commission of the crime, so that the old excuse for lynching, namely, the law's delays and uncertainties, did not hold. There was no reason to fear that the prisoner would escape his merited punishment, because he had confessed his crime. The sole impulse of the crowd was the familiar mob psychology, together with lust for the torture of a human being. Undoubtedly the murderer would have been lynched with all the familiar horrors of such a crime. Instead, we have the spectacle of a relentless justice working without the loss of an hour, of every official from the Governor down doing his duty and refusing to palter with the mob.

PROBABLY no city in the United States has shown itself so helpless in the face of the storms of early February as New York. In consequence of an unusual snowfall, interspersed with a thaw and a freeze, the surface cars of Manhattan ceased to run for a week, while trucking was accomplished only with the greatest difficulty and delay. Through some providence the city suffered less than would have been expected, but the Mayor has been scolding the traction companies and the newspapers have been scolding the Mayor. Probably they both deserve it, but according to the Weather Bureau the snowfall was the heaviest since 1902, and it has been impossible to hire men enough to remove it. Obviously the city cannot afford to maintain machinery, or to hire men the year around, to cope with an emergency that occurs only about once in a decade. It would be more to the point if New York and other cities would realize as a result of this experience the futility of existing methods of transporting goods through their streets. It costs less to ship many articles half or all the way across the continent than to deliver them in New York city after they arrive; and it must continue to do so as long as thousands of individuals, using the most primitive means, duplicate each other's service with scattered deliveries over great areas.

THE commission created by the General Assembly of Virginia, in 1918, to undertake an educational survey of the State has submitted an interesting report which not only makes the expected recommendations for a longer school term, and better pay and training for teachers, but also lays the axe to the root of the difficulty and urges certain necessary changes in the State Constitution. The commission charges that the Constitution has hampered the educational authorities of the State by being too particular in its provisions, instead of laying down fundamental principles and leaving particulars to the Assembly and its proper servants. The innovations urged include a small State board of education, to be appointed by the Governor and in turn to choose the superintendent of education, heretofore elected by the people; the establishment of the county as the unit in place of the school district; the elimination of the present Constitutional school-age limits of seven to twenty years, the Assembly to fix a suitable age; the removal of the five mill limit on the aggregate local tax; and the revision of the present compulsory school law. It is by just such thorough overhauling of the school machinery in various States that our backward schools will have to be brought up to meet modern requirements.

Mr. Lansing's Retirement

THAT the President is technically in the right in his criticism of Mr. Lansing's action in calling the Cabinet together during his disability will not be denied. He is quite correct, moreover, in pointing out that no action which the Cabinet might take would be valid without his approval. Mr. Wilson is justified, too, in being for once regardful of precedents. But when all these things are recorded, everything has been said that can be said in the President's favor. For the rest, his demand for Mr. Lansing's resignation shows Mr. Wilson's worst side. Egotistical, overbearing, selfish, and jealous, he has forced Mr. Lansing out for other reasons than appear on the surface. It is possible, of course, that Mr. Lansing has done things of which the public is not informed which warrant the President's action. Until proof of this is presented, however, the verdict must be that the President has seized upon a flimsy excuse in order to dismiss a Secretary of State whose differences of opinion with Mr. Wilson have long been known. There can be no two opinions about the correspondence between the two men. The one is considerate, kindly, honorable, and generous, evincing a sincere desire to serve the President and the country. The other is querulous, meticulous, and determined to force an issue. Mr. Wilson's letter finally accepting Mr. Lansing's resignation is as ungenerous as was the one of the other day accepting the resignation of Mr. Lane. In each case Mr. Wilson speaks of pleasant personal relations; in each he fails to record for posterity the services which the men in question have rendered to their country, distinguished in Mr. Lane's case by rare administrative ability and an unusual list of constructive measures achieved. Mr. Wilson has never been able to brook near himself another able personality. One by one the strong men have left him or have been driven away, just as he has broken with every one of the close supporters whose devotion made his elevation to the Presidency possible—William F. McCombs, Colonel Harvey, Colonel House, and Charles R. Crane. Even Mr. McAdoo may be included in the list.

Indeed, the only charitable view to take of the President's action is that he is still a very sick man. Let us look at the facts. The Wilson Administration, as an agency of government, has been utterly demoralized ever since the President first sailed for Europe and announced to Congress that he had no policy of reconstruction to offer and that none was necessary. Self-seekers in the Cabinet, like Mr. Palmer, have played their own hands. Unified action has been unknown. Mr. Wilson tried to govern by cable while engrossed in world affairs at Paris, and when he came back he only occasionally assembled the Cabinet. Then he was stricken with illness. While he was a helpless invalid Mr. Lansing called the Cabinet together for what he states were purely "informal meetings," to discuss matters of joint interest. To all who knew of it, we venture to assert, this seemed a wise and patriotic action. Somebody had to keep the wheels of government turning. Not only was the treaty fight in the Senate to be watched, but there were pressing domestic issues like the coal strike, as well as vital problems in connection with the settlement abroad of such matters as the Russian question. A generous man in Mr. Wilson's place would have been grateful indeed for these informal Cabinet consultations during the critical period of his illness. Can

it be that the Tumulty-Grayson combination, which apparently must bear the responsibility for the deliberate deception of the country as to the gravity of Mr. Wilson's condition, really wished to govern alone unhampered by the Cabinet? If Mr. Wilson has only just discovered that the Cabinet meetings were being held, it would be plain proof that he has been incompetent to govern by reason of ignorance as to what was taking place under his own official roof. Of course he knew of the meetings, for it has been given out more than once that he had approved of the Cabinet's consensus of opinion. He "discovered" them when he had a purpose in so doing.

Had Mr. Lansing been ungenerous, had he wished in any way to take advantage of Mr. Wilson's condition, he could have taken the lead by demanding that the Vice-President assume the Presidency, as the Constitution requires in case of disability on the part of the President. If the grave physical ills from which the President is now authoritatively reported to have been suffering did not constitute such disability as the framers of the Constitution had in mind, no illness could. But Mr. Lansing is not a man to take advantage; his letters show only delicate consideration and tact. He does not defend himself, as he might have done, by dwelling upon the gravity of the President's condition; he does not even characterize it. Disillusioned and disheartened, out of sympathy with the President, anxious to resign, the Secretary of State remained in office out of loyalty and patriotism long after the average man would have surrendered it. He had been grievously humiliated at Paris when it was discovered that he had views of his own with which Mr. Wilson did not agree. Mr. Keynes, writing as an observer whose official position gave him abundant opportunity to know the facts, speaks of Mr. Lansing and his fellow-commissioners as "dummies." They could hardly be anything else so long as it was a cardinal offense to differ from the President on any question of policy.

That Mr. Lansing's resignation was inevitable has long been apparent. He has now paid the price of his loyalty by being forced out of the Cabinet. It has seemed to *The Nation* a mistaken loyalty. We do not believe that officials who are convinced of the wrongfulness of a given policy should remain in office after their conviction is clear. By remaining they connive at and make possible wrong-doing. With all of the respect which *The Nation* has for Mr. Lansing's integrity and patriotism, we cannot but feel that he would stand a great deal higher today if he, too, had resigned in protest against a treaty which he knew to be bad, just as Mr. Bullitt and Professor Young and seven other Americans did, and as Mr. Keynes did on the English side. Precisely what Mr. Lansing's contribution has been to the history of the last four and a half years remains to be seen. We are inclined to think that he may rank higher than many people have been disposed to concede when the secrets of the Wilson dictatorship are revealed. He will always be criticized for having been the President's "rubber stamp," but no Secretary of State under Mr. Wilson could well be anything else. Whether or not he knew this when he accepted the office, he has borne the unpleasantnesses of his situation with a stoicism, a self-abnegation, and a devotion to his official superior hardly paralleled in our history, and the manner of his forced retirement certainly does him honor.

Mr. Hoover in the Valley of Decision

MR. HOOVER'S political statement, made public on February 9, has naturally aroused a good deal of discussion in political circles and in the press. As a matter of fact, however, rather more than half of the statement is taken up, not with a consideration of important issues in regard to which, notwithstanding his assertion that he is not a Presidential candidate, his opinion as a great American citizen is entitled to be made known, but with a specification of certain things which will govern his action as a voter. Of the nine paragraphs in the printed form of the address before us, five are devoted to comment upon things for which he says that he will or will not vote. If the treaty is an issue in the election, he will vote for the party that stands for the League of Nations. He will not vote for a party whose leaders seek to set aside the Constitutional guarantees of free speech or "free representation," nor for one which hopes for socialism or for any form of nationalization. He does not believe in more than two "great parties," but he will not pledge his vote in advance to either of them until he knows what the party managers stand for. All this is interesting, of course, but it is not exactly to the point. The country is only mildly concerned with knowing how Mr. Hoover intends to vote; that is his affair, after all; but it is a good deal concerned to know where Mr. Hoover, as a potential if not yet an actual candidate, stands with reference to the questions that now confront it.

On the other hand, assuming, as we hope we may, that Mr. Hoover means to be entirely consistent in his politics, and that when he announces how he intends to act as a voter he is not making any mental reservations as to how he would act were he a candidate or even a President, his statement is a suggestive, and in some important respects a disquieting, revelation of his political state of mind. To what party, if any, does he belong? The "two great parties" which he is clear should divide the field between them are, presumably, the Republican and the Democratic; but at the present moment, apparently, he is not enough in harmony with either of them to declare his preference; he is waiting to learn "what party managers stand for." Does this mean that he has as yet no definite political convictions, no clear body of political doctrine to which, as against any other, he will feel impelled even as a voter to give his adherence? Has Mr. Hoover done no conclusive political thinking for himself in all these years of his rich and varied life? Or does it mean that when the party managers have fashioned such platforms as they think the nominating conventions will accept, he will then declare for the one which he thinks the better? One cannot but wonder how, as an engineer accustomed to collecting all the data before going ahead with his plans, he will manage the important business of making up his mind in view of the fact that one party holds its convention three weeks after the other. Mr. Hoover protests that he "must exercise a prerogative of American citizenship," and "decline to pledge" his vote "blindfold." Does he propose to walk in darkness until the party managers remove the bandage from his eyes?

This attitude of waiting, like Mr. Micawber, for something to turn up seems to make difficulty for other of Mr. Hoover's contentions. He "must," he tells us, "vote for the

party that stands for the League." Waiving for the moment the objection that the covenant of the League of Nations is not a thing separate from the treaty but an integral part of it, and that the treaty itself, wholly apart from the covenant provisions, is an agreement which no honest, enlightened, or humane American ought to support, what would be Mr. Hoover's position if, by any chance, the treaty were to be ratified by the Senate by a vote to which a majority of both parties contributed? In such case, we may be sure, one party would claim as much credit as the other, and the test which Mr. Hoover places first in his list would be of no avail in his decision. Again, Mr. Hoover "could not vote for a party if it were dominated by groups who seek to set aside our Constitutional guarantees for free speech or free representation, who hope to reestablish control of the government for profit and privilege." We can hardly think that any group of party managers, for whose decision Mr. Hoover waits, will be so far bereft of reason as to allow their party to be placed in a position of opposition to any Constitutional guarantees, or that they will fail to denounce in strong, resounding phrases "profit and privilege." Support of the Constitution and opposition to special interests are the stock in trade of American politicians, and if Mr. Hoover is depending upon such things now to clarify his thought or strengthen his faith, he is leaning upon a slender reed.

What interests us most in Mr. Hoover's statement, however, is the light which it throws upon his attitude toward the liberal and radical movement which is daily growing in power throughout the country. On this point the statement is far from reassuring. In the face of increasingly pronounced liberal opposition to both the Republican and the Democratic parties, and of the admitted growth of the Non-partisan League, the Labor party, the Committee of Forty-eight, and other independent organizations, Mr. Hoover rejects all third parties on the ground that "combinations of groups could, as in Europe, create a danger of minority rule." In what self-governing countries of Europe today does he affect to find minority rule? He is on equally dangerous ground when he repudiates what he chooses to call socialism. Whenever the decisions of the "party managers" make it possible for Mr. Hoover to declare himself either a Republican or a Democrat, it will be well within his right to denounce the Socialist party; but when he holds up to rebuke "any form of socialism, whether it be nationalization of industry or other destruction of individual initiative," he not only lays himself open to the charge of denouncing something which he does not understand, but he also rebuffs most of the liberals and all of the radicals who, on other grounds, might be inclined to support him.

Mr. Hoover's exposition of his views is not the kind of statement for which intelligent and liberal opinion in this country has been waiting. What is wanted today is a man who can lead, and lead aright. Such a man must first of all know his own mind. He must give indubitable evidence that he has thought things through, that he is informed, that his opinions are the results of his own deliberate reflection and not such as a group of politicians shall hand to him. Among all the men who have been mentioned for the Presidency, there is none whose views as to what America ought to be will be more attentively listened to than Mr. Hoover, but what he has said thus far will satisfy nobody. We sympathize with him in his desire not to go ahead blindfolded, even as a voter, but the millions of other voters have also a right to see in what direction they are being led.

Our Caribbean Imperialism

WE call attention elsewhere in this issue to American imperialism in the Caribbean, because that imperialism grows worse with the lapse of time. During the war, it was to be expected that despotic American rule in Haiti and Santo Domingo, and the domination of American naval guns in Nicaragua, would be passed over unnoticed under pressure of larger issues. Today, however, there is no such reason for the forcible military control of those countries, or for the censorship which the Navy Department imposes upon almost all news emanating from them. What we are doing in Haiti and Santo Domingo is precisely what Germany would have done in our place; it is precisely what England is doing in Egypt and India. Upon unwilling peoples—a black people and a white people—the United States is imposing its will on the same theory of might upon which Germany relied in its attack upon Belgium. The only difference is that Haiti and Santo Domingo are tiny nations, and that we are Anglo-Saxon enough to mask our imperialism under high-sounding phrases. Like England in a number of countries, and like Japan in Shantung and Korea, we are in the Caribbean for the moral and physical welfare of “our wards”; we are to teach them how to govern themselves with American excellence and efficiency, and we are doing it all for their own ultimate good. It is only by accident, presumably, that some of our large corporations and shrewd capitalists are at the same time acquiring great quantities of fertile land in the islands.

We are doing all this, too, without omitting a single concomitant of imperialism. From our European Allies we have taken over all the canting vocabulary of conquest. Thus, the people who oppose us in the islands are “bandits.” A few weeks ago an American newspaper printed without comment or reprobation the following item:

WASHINGTON, Jan. 16.—United States marines and Haitian gendarmerie yesterday repelled an attack on Port au Prince, the Haitian capital, by a force of 300 bandits, more than half of whom were killed, wounded, or captured, after being pursued outside the city. The total casualties of the marines were two privates wounded, according to the report of the engagement received at the Navy Department today from Colonel J. H. Russell, commanding the marine forces and gendarmerie in Haiti. The bandit force, Colonel Russell said, approached Port au Prince in three columns, which immediately were met and driven back. Revolutionary elements of the city attempted to join the bandits in the assault, he said, adding that he believed the fate of the attacking forces should be “sufficient to prevent an early repetition of the assault.”

Let it be noted that, after four years of American occupation and control by vigilant and efficient American marines, “banditry” so flourishes in Haiti that 300 “bandits” can attack the capital in broad daylight, approaching the city in three separate columns. It is curious, too, that there should still be revolutionary elements in the capital itself after four years of beneficent rule under the Stars and Stripes. Evidently the Haitians are ungrateful, and, being ungrateful, deserve to be mowed down by machine guns and bombed from aeroplanes.

But American imperialism does not stop with shooting down “bandits.” The excesses which everywhere distinguish an invading army have, unfortunately, not been wanting in Haiti. We have already called attention to the case of First Lieutenant Samuel B. Ryan, of the Marines, who was ac-

quitted by a court-martial of charges of murder and drunkenness after he had killed two unarmed natives. Fortunately, the commander of the First Provisional Marine Brigade denounced the acquittal as a miscarriage of justice, declaring that the accused lieutenant should have kept “silently on his way,” which, he said, “would seem to have been a more judicious method than bombarding two unarmed natives and emptying two clips, one containing seven and the other six cartridges, into them.” Lieutenant Ryan is out of jail, however, and so is Captain George D. Hamilton, also of the Marines, who was acquitted of murder because no proof was offered that an order issued by him to his native gendarmes to “shoot all native prisoners captured by them if such prisoners were considered ‘caicos,’ or persons in revolt against the Republic of Haiti,” was obeyed.

Educated Dominicans and Haitians do not hesitate to say that the United States in reality is not trying to teach them to govern themselves at all, since instead of giving them American civil government we are giving them naval government. America, they assert, has torn down what they already had, and has built up nothing. A captain’s staff governs them, suppresses their protesting newspapers, legislates for them, autocratically orders their lives, and taxes them without representation; for this reason or some other, the Haitians have also learned how to default on the interest payments on their debt. No scientific or economic study of the islands has been made, nor has any genuine effort been put forth to go to the root of the trouble and lay the foundations for efficient self-government. Experts in government have not been called in, for we have set no limit to our occupation. We are building a few roads, cleaning the towns, and giving some marines comfortable jobs, but otherwise there is no constructive policy of any kind. American advice to struggling peoples in Europe and Asia sounds hollow enough in the face of such palpable failure to establish civil government in an American possession close at hand.

Silver and the Orient

THE eyes of the financial world have been fixed so intently of late upon the exchange situation between the United States and Europe that they have almost overlooked the highly interesting developments in the money relations between the United States and Asia, which furnish an almost complete contrast. Europe, nominally on a gold but actually on a paper basis, has lately seen its money depreciating dangerously in the American market, while Asia, on a silver basis, has seen its money appreciating here to an unprecedented degree. Both circumstances have given rise to remarkable trade phenomena, and in the case of Asia are also operating to restrict emigration.

The reasons for the rising value of the silver currency of Asia in terms of American gold are not directly connected with those that have caused the fall in the value here of European paper, although they have both been largely the result of the war. Speaking broadly, the decline in European exchange is attributable to three main factors: the excess in Europe of imports over exports; the inflation of European currency due to vast borrowings during the war; and the doubt which is felt about the security of European obligations. The advance, in terms of gold, of the silver coinage of Asia may also be set down as due principally to three things: a production of silver for a number of

years past considerably less than the world's normal demand; the increased burden put upon silver as a medium of exchange in consequence of the virtual disappearance of gold; and the enhanced purchasing power of the Asiatic peoples, who have prospered by selling their goods and their labor to the belligerents during the war. In the Orient riches are commonly hoarded in coin, so that increasing wealth has withdrawn silver from circulation.

The country probably most affected by the rise in the value of silver in our markets is China. In normal times an American gold dollar has been exchangeable at Hongkong for about two silver dollars. At present it is exchangeable for less than one silver dollar. This means that the Chinese can convert their silver into about twice as much American gold as formerly, and even at existing high prices can buy more for their money in this country than heretofore. During the past three years there has been a remarkable increase in imports into China—so large, indeed, that the general standard of living has been materially affected. The Chinese consumer, with money in his pocket as a result of selling his products and his labor during the war, has been buying cotton cloth, cotton yarn, kerosene, iron and steel, and other staples, the prices of which would have been beyond his means in the home market had not Chinese merchants been able to buy advantageously abroad in consequence of a favorable exchange rate. The price of goods in general has increased only slightly in China, so that both merchant and consumer have profited by the favorable exchange. Imports, on the other hand, are greatly in excess of exports, because the same circumstances that favor Chinese purchases abroad work against sales. Some observers, having in mind the fact that no country can long continue to import without also exporting, are inclined to think that the limit of Chinese purchases abroad has been reached, and that exchange has risen to a point where it is likely to hamper or even virtually to stop trade. Thus we have the interesting contrast of Europe almost unable to buy in America because of depreciated paper, and China almost unable to sell in America because of appreciated silver.

A curious indirect effect of the high price of silver is noted by Mr. George E. Anderson, United States Consul General at Hongkong, who, in a report to the Department of Commerce, points out that the present exchange rates are automatically cutting off Chinese emigration to North and South America, and may soon send home Chinese already resident in those continents. A Chinese workman in Mexico, for example, earning \$25 gold a month, would normally live on about \$15 and send the other \$10 to his family or representative in China. In normal times, this \$10 would exchange in China for \$20 to \$25 silver. The workman's family would live on \$10 silver, leaving \$10 or \$15 silver as a saving. At present exchange rates, however, the remittance of \$10 gold becomes only \$9 silver, which is not enough for the support of the family, not to mention saving. "So soon as the Chinese in the United States, Mexico, Cuba, and Central America commence to appreciate the fact that there is no profit in their continued residence in America," says Mr. Anderson, "word will be passed back here and emigration will stop, unless their wages are increased." Thus one of the curious by-products of present topsy-turvy conditions in world finance may be to relieve the Pacific Coast, in some measure, of its pet *bête noire*.

Burke and Bolshevism

"THIS way of proscribing citizens by denominations and general descriptions, dignified by the name of reason of state and security for constitutions and commonwealths, is nothing better at bottom than the miserable invention of an ungenerous ambition which would fain hold the sacred trust of power without any of the virtues or any of the energies that give a title to it: a receipt of policy, made up of a detestable compound of malice, cowardice, and sloth. They would govern men against their will; but in that government they would be discharged from the exercise of vigilance, providence, and fortitude. . . . But let government, in what form it may be, comprehend the whole in its justice and restrain the suspicious by its vigilance; let it keep watch and ward; let it discover by its sagacity and punish by its firmness all delinquency against its power, whenever delinquency exists in the overt acts; and then it will be as safe as ever God and nature intended it should be. Crimes are the acts of individuals and not of denominations; and therefore arbitrarily to class men under general descriptions in order to proscribe and punish them in the lump for a presumed delinquency of which perhaps but a part, perhaps none at all, are guilty, is indeed a compendious method and saves a world of trouble about proof; but such a method, instead of being law, is an act of unnatural rebellion against the legal dominion of reason and justice; and this vice, in any constitution that entertains it, at one time or other will certainly bring on its ruin."

The author of the foregoing is Edmund Burke, writing on the Protestant hysteria that gave rise to the "No Popery" riots of 1780; and Edmund Burke, as some one is sure to remind us, has long been dead. But it does us no harm to remember occasionally that the symptoms of public hysteria are always the same: "vapors," as the eighteenth century called them, and unreasoning terrors, and the impulse to cruelty that springs from fear. Now an age that is suffering from the disease of which these are symptoms is not always so fortunate as to have a physician whose diagnosis is at once accurate and merciless. Cowardice—yes, we are prepared to maintain that there are times when it is a virtue to be timid before the dangers that seem to threaten the republic; but malice and sloth—is it possible that we can be justly charged with these? The great diagnostician has no doubt of it. Malice, because behind our outcry over the public danger there is often a touch of arrogance that springs from a fancied superiority and more than a touch of the tyranny that crushes because it can. And sloth—can it be that we, with all our energetic measures, are really at bottom slothful? "Yes," says our incorruptible counsellor, "you are too indolent to take the measures that intelligence and humanity dictate. It is easier, more expeditious, to bring an indictment against a whole social group or a whole political party. You are lazy as well as malevolent and cowardly."

The truth is that we have forgotten a principle upon which Burke is never tired of insisting, namely, that every political choice involves inconveniences, and that it is not only foolish but dangerous to demand perfection of any political arrangement. A government that is defended against the overt acts of its ill-wishers is "as safe as ever God and nature intended it should be." No government, whatever our measures, can be safer than that.

Wanted: A New Method in Mexico

By MARY AUSTIN

IT is obvious that the United States is approaching a point in its relations to Mexico that has many items in common with our approach to the Great War. The moment at which we could have taken a deciding tone toward Mexico on the high ground of an affirmative international policy having been allowed to slip past, we have become bitterly involved with our sister republic over a sordid question of oil wells, and under the pressure of European interests. In spite of the Monroe Doctrine we are in such a position in regard to Mexico that unless a new method is evolved, within six or eight months we may not only find ourselves embroiled on our own account, but we may have four or five South American countries and at least two European countries against us.

It is true we have shambled into this pocket foremost position largely because of the propaganda of what are known as "the interests." Certain small groups who have money invested in Mexico, or see it as a field for future investment, have found their business interfered with by what has been going on there lately. That is to say, they have found that they cannot do business by the same methods that they employ in doing business with us. The result is an active propaganda, financed by those interests, to have the United States forcibly remake the economic system of Mexico as nearly as possible like the one under which "the interests" have thriven so well in England and America.

It is perfectly safe to say that three-fifths of our present difficulty with Mexico is of this hand-made variety. The banditry of which so much is made in the newspapers is in no sense a part of our effort at internationalism. As much of it as is not due to the same sorts of conditions that are producing disorder in the rest of the world, is due to the struggle of outside capitalists among themselves. Capitalists in the United States and elsewhere have sold arms to Mexicans, smuggling them in in defiance of the Mexican Government for the purpose of preventing other capitalists from making more profit out of Mexican mines and oil fields. All this is a matter of common knowledge and has been a steadily shaping force in determining the attitude which the Latin-American republics are beginning to take toward us.

But no such attempt against the integrity of the United States and the rights and dignities of Mexico could become a factor if it were not for characteristic weaknesses of the American people, the same weaknesses which have brought us into equally undesirable and contradictory relations with Russia. Chief of these weaknesses is our total lack of the historic sense, the failure to recognize and measure the element of social continuity. Through this lack of acquaintance with the source and direction of history, we have been led to conclude, rather amiably but mistakenly, that what all struggling nations want is exactly what we have got for ourselves. We begin by thinking about the people of Mexico as Mexicans, or at the best as Spanish and Indian, not at all as Aztecs, Yucatecs, and Yaquis, or other allied but by no means affiliated, and only partially federated, peoples. We think of the struggles going on there as solely political, the struggle between petty political chiefs. We have not at all considered whether the disposition of the Mexican groups to arise and slay one another occasionally may not have a touch

of that "inevitable" which we concede to the disharmonies of our own blacks and whites. We have not sufficiently realized that there are many battles between the opposing forces in Mexico which result in fewer casualties than one of our own race riots. We have not even, through our recent touch with the hereditary antagonisms of southeastern Europe, taken the measure of such facts as that Yucatan was never really a part of Mexico any more than Ukraina was a part of Russia, that Yaqui Land was never really conquered even by the Spanish, and that to these long-standing difficulties we are adding a lively Balkan hate along our Texan border.

These alien and warring states were forcibly federated by Spain and are now striving to refederate themselves in view of their common economic destiny, on a basis of common agreement. Such a refederation would seem to be important to the peace of the western world. But before the United States attempts to assist at the process without an invitation, it would be well to consider whether we could actually accomplish any more than Spain did for the integration of the Mexican peoples.

The ideal of an experienced and powerful nation maintaining order while the process of interpenetration of group consciousness is going on between dissimilar peoples with a common objective, is one to be treated seriously. But just how far, when history is one of the protagonists, can the United States travel on an unpracticed, well-meaning idealism? Recent events in Europe would suggest that we have not gone far. Certainly we have not got beyond the stage of barbarous slaughter between our own unassimilated—and by all our policies rated as unassimilable—races. And if the history of Bohemia and Poland and Czechoslovakia left us in any doubt as to whether integration can be accomplished by forcibly squashing together dissimilar national elements, there is India. There it has been tried under the nearest approach to American methods, but the only group consciousness which shows itself is the common consciousness of England as an oppressor; and the only unification evident is that of the desire to throw off the English rule.

When the American people involved themselves in Russia in a situation which belies their real faith in the democratic principle, it was because of an almost universal conviction that what the Russian people wanted was another United States.

There is an equally mistaken and probably sincere idea abroad about Mexico, an idea that the majority of the Mexican people really want political and industrial conditions like ours and won't be happy until we go in and cram them down their throats. In spite of our mistake about Russia, now slowly yielding to contradicting facts, we not only go on making this mistake about Mexico, but we are basing all our arguments in favor of force on this same racial inability of the Mexican to adapt himself to our economic system. This system, which in general goes by the title of capitalism, has been in our history and our blood since the Roman Empire. It was never in the history or in the blood of Mexico. Not only has it had no part in their natural economic evolution, but their nearest approach to a system like ours during the past two hundred years, carries with it associations of

cruelty and oppression for which we have no measure. Possibly, if left to herself for the centuries Spain oppressed her, Mexico might have moved toward capitalism, as so many other nations have entered by that gate. But at present, except for a brief forced period, about two thousand years of economic evolution lie between Mexican economic adjustments and ours. Even the banditry so disturbing to their peace and ours is an instance of their native disposition toward group activity; the lone "bad man" is no more found among them than the solitary captain of industry.

Let me illustrate one of those differences of economic approach, which our failure to estimate the force of historic continuity prevents the average American citizen from realizing. Everybody understands that land hunger is a contributive element in the revolutions of both Russia and Mexico. Everybody wanted land and wanted it so acutely that in the early days of both revolutions, as soon as a piece of land had been allotted to them, numbers of the revolutionists sat down upon it with the revolution half finished. But here in the United States we missed the significance of the fact that the particular kind of land most mentioned in this connection in Mexico was the *ejido*. It was the dispossession of the towns of their *ejidos* which was reckoned to have set the revolution in train. The restoration of the *ejidos* was one of Carranza's earliest projects, and it was to effect this that confiscations of property were made. The *ejido* was the land owned in common by the community, and its significance for us lies in the light it throws on land ownership in general in Mexico.

With us land is property. Farming is a "business." With the Mexican, land was environment. It was domain. Holding land by title is a recent Spanish innovation, the native Mexican never having thought of such a thing as private property in land. That this form persists to some extent, a "hang-over" from the Spanish invasion, does not alter the essentials of the agrarian problem in Mexico. Historically and racially it is a problem in relationship rather than in possession.

The people of Yucatan and some parts of the south come nearer being farmers in our sense of the word, since their preoccupation is chiefly with the product of the soil. But in Mexico proper, people do not so much live off of the land as live on it. By racial genius they are craftsmen of a superior sort, and their crafts, building, metal working, weaving, and ceramics, draw their inspiration from being related in groups to the land and the resources of the land.

Social psychologists and even the newspapers are beginning to talk about group psychology as the developing factor in politics, just as group action is rapidly becoming the determining factor in economics. But group psychology and group action are the native Mexican's atmosphere, they are all his past. They are deep enough to give to the present movement of Mexican nationalism its direction toward a communism of land and natural resources older and more instinctive than anything of the kind that we have to deal with in Russia. This instinct is not so articulate as it is in Russia. The Mexicans have not thought so much nor so informedly about their situation. Masses of them have not thought at all; they have simply moved by the impetus of their own history in the inevitable direction. Far from being obsessed by a desire to overthrow the capitalistic system, millions of them are at a loss to understand why their own instinctive readjustment, following the dislocation of the past three hundred years, should be looked upon with

hostility by our system. So they naturally read self-interest into any motion of ours toward interfering with the processes of that readjustment.

Public opinion has made very much the same mistake about the present political leaders in Mexico that it has made in Russia. It has persisted in seeing them as a little group of radicals instead of a racially representative group of Mexicans, and their ideas as remote from the Mexican masses, on no better ground than that they are unfamiliar to us. There is even a general idea that if we could only see some other group in power, besides the Carranzistas, we should see a very different economic disposition. But no turn of the political wheel is ever going to put anybody but Mexicans into power in Mexico. It might put base and corruptible groups into power, but they would still be made up from the three classes of the Mexican people: Creoles, of pure Spanish descent born for several generations in Mexico, and full inheritors of a native Spanish aptitude for politics; or Mestizos and Indians with their ten-thousand-year-old inheritance of communistic living, and particularly of communism in land and natural resources. And when we see the present leaders in Mexico as the conscious element of the masses moving instinctively in line with their own history, we must see them as succeeding so well that if we really mean to interfere with the process, they have put us in the worst possible position for doing so.

But is there any real advantage in our attempting to pick up a nation of sixteen million people and jump them over two thousand years of economic development in two or three? Europe, and especially England, would profit by our attempt. But who in America, with the exception of a few of our capitalists, would profit by having a neighbor in a state of economic catalepsy, batted about by "the interests" at our expense? What we really want is an amicable relation with a country in a normal state of productiveness, capable of equitable economic exchange. Let our statesmen accept the intimations of history and racial genius. Let them realize that Mexico cannot be made over on the American economic plan. Let them once for all give up this abortive attempt, and address themselves not to forcing an alien method on the Mexican people, but to finding a method by which two dissimilar economic systems can live together amicably.

Within the next generation this has got to be done. Nobody can be such a fool as to imagine that all the nations of Europe are to emerge from their present confusion with the old-style economic arrangements. Some countries are going to come back to do business at the old stand, temporarily, at least, on a new and more communistic basis. It may not be Russia; it may be Germany; and if we do not interfere it certainly will be Mexico. And the other countries will have to learn to do business under these new conditions. Why not America first?

The American way of doing business is the expression of the American temperament in relation to its environment. In the past it has been characterized by a large adaptability. As a republic, we learned to do business very successfully with monarchies, and we should also be able to do business with Mexico even under the modern conditions of nationalized natural resources, unless American business has already reached that fussy condition of middle age in which it can do business only in its own way; and if that is the case, it will meet the inevitable defeat of middle age in attempting to prescribe the procedure of developing nationalities.

Cuba and Her President

By L. J. DE BEKKER

Havana, December 15

AMERICANS, whatever the cause may be—the Great Drought at home, the races, or the climate of the island—are showing a keener interest in Cuba this winter than ever before. Applications for passports numbered more than 80,000 when I left New York early in December. And one passport suffices for man, wife, and children. Heretofore Cuba has depended upon two crops for her living, sugar and tobacco, and her foreign commerce will exceed a billion dollars this year for the first time in history. The tobacco crop is already in, the quality good and the quantity short, with prices high. Mills are beginning to grind cane, and a record yield and record prices may be expected. But from now on it seems to me that the Innocent Abroad will be an economic element to be reckoned with. Assume that the tourists from the United States will number only 80,000, and that the average expenditure here will be \$1,000 per capita, and it will appear that the harvest of tourist dollars must be second in importance only to sugar. Housing facilities and means of transportation are still inadequate. Henry Watterson arrived recently to spend the winter, but returned to Florida because he could not rent a house, and hotel accommodations were too high. No wonder work is being rushed on new hotels here, or that an air route for passenger traffic across the Straits of Florida is almost an accomplished fact.

Thanks to General Menocal, the island republic has weathered the World War, not without suffering, but without serious loss. The future of Cuba is assured if the politicians of both countries, Cuba and the United States, can be persuaded not to endanger it. President Menocal will retire from office next May, and William E. Gonzales, one of the sanest men in American diplomacy, has been promoted to the new ambassadorship in Peru. On the other hand, much has been done to simplify and purify Cuban politics, and if there is trouble at the next presidential election here, it will be convincing proof of pure wilfulness. The election law worked out by General Crowder, with the assistance of Cuban officials and approved by Congress, is as nearly perfect as such an instrument can be, in the opinion of Cubans of all parties. Major Stephenson, borrowed by the Cuban Government from the United States Census Bureau, has completed his count of noses, and the large vote hitherto recorded from graveyards and alien labor will be eliminated. The tabulation has not yet been checked up, but it will show a total population of between 2,800,000 and 2,900,000, and a *bona fide* electorate of between 450,000 and 475,000.

The election law became effective January 1, and brought into being formal party organizations, with primary elections and well-defined party platforms, thus destroying to a large extent the unlimited power of personal leadership which has hitherto been dominant in Cuba. President Menocal, the natural leader of the Conservative Party, maintains absolute neutrality towards the various candidates for the nomination, so there is reason to hope that the nominee will be the free choice of the Conservative rank and file. Alfredo Zayas, Liberal candidate for the Presi-

dency at the last election, and José Miguel Gomez, ex-President, and *jefe* of the last insurrection, are fighting each other bitterly for the present control of the Liberal party.

It is officially announced that the United States will decline to supervise the elections at the petition of the minority party. In other words, the threat of an American occupation which the Platt amendment holds over the Cuban people is somewhat less grave than it was a few months ago, and may indeed be wholly disregarded if the Cubans place patriotism above politics in the next presidential campaign.

The daily press in Havana is greatly disturbed at some things said about Cuba by Mr. Samuel Guy Inman. The facts in the case are simple. There is vice in Havana for all who care to seek it, but it is not flaunted in public places, and it is under strict sanitary and police supervision. There is gambling in Havana, but it is conducted with as much decency as possible, without the use of sheet-iron doors, lookouts, crooked wheels, grafting policemen, or other New York accessories. There is drunkenness in Havana, but I have never seen a white Cuban drunk, although this is my sixth visit to the island. Altogether I do not believe the Cubans are inferior to us either in personal or commercial morality, nor in politics have they much to learn of our great municipalities, world-famed for their efficient administration of public business, such as New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Cincinnati, and Chicago.

General Menocal, who is now completing his second and last term as President of the Republic, begins to feel the strain of overwork, and has lately been confined to the palace by bronchitis, but he has replied to a series of questions I submitted to him as follows:

Q. Knowing the reluctance with which you became the Conservative candidate for reelection, and the heavy financial sacrifice involved in your having served two terms as President of the Cuban Republic, I am none the less obliged to ask what your intentions are for the future. Will you again be a candidate for the Presidency, or will you return to private life?

A. I cannot, even if I would, be again a candidate for reelection, as the Constitution of Cuba prohibits a third term, and no one, least of all myself, has thought of amending it to admit of a third consecutive term.

Q. Will Cuba continue to devote her energies chiefly to sugar and tobacco, or do you think you will succeed in the attempt you made several years ago, but which was interrupted by the war, to introduce a diversified agriculture, so that Cuba will be self-supporting in the event of temporary isolation, such as that which practically closed the bake-shops in Havana only a few months ago?

A. I believe that our principal products will always be sugar and tobacco, although mining (especially copper) is making great headway; but I have no doubt that the lesson taught us by the war of the danger of neglecting other crops will bear fruit. Gradually, but steadily, more and more attention is being devoted to the diversification of agriculture.

Q. A Cornell man yourself, thoroughly conversant with

American business methods, cannot you suggest a plan which would insure a more even distribution of the Cuban sugar crop, so that the seasonal shortage in the United States can be prevented?

A. A better distribution of the available tonnage ought to solve this problem.

Q. We have the impression in New York that Cuba has grown so wealthy during your two administrations that she is now able to finance her own enterprises. Is this incorrect, and if so, what are the most promising lines for American investments?

A. Quite correct. The volume of deposits in banks and saving institutions has increased one thousand per cent. during the past six years. Our foreign commerce will pass the billion dollar mark this year, and the balance of trade in our favor will be some \$250,000,000. Land values in the cities and in the country have increased five hundred per cent.

Q. In your opinion, would the Cuban people be benefited by closer relations with the United States of a political nature, or does even the Platt amendment militate against the free and healthful development of the nation? Is the recent organization of an anti-American party of significance?

A. I cannot see what benefit could accrue to Cuba as a result of closer political relations with the United States. The character of its people and our past history entitle Cuba to rank among the free nations of the world; our contribution to literature, commerce, science, and sports, show that, though a geographically small country, our people compare favorably with the most civilized nations, and their sentiment of nationality is too strong to permit of annexation or incorporation with a foreign power. This does not mean, however, that the already friendly ties binding Cuba and the United States should not be drawn still closer together, as in my opinion, the economic, social, and political interests of both countries are identical.

Q. What are the most important of the reconstruction problems in Cuba arising from the World War?

A. The most important is the one whose effects have been most generally felt throughout the entire world—the extremely high cost of living which has brought about a gen-

eral unsettlement of hitherto ruling economic conditions.

Q. In a statement to an American newspaper last winter, you discussed the labor problem, and praised the unions in Cuba for having unselfishly disregarded pending controversies as to hours and wages during the war period. Have the relations between labor and capital in Cuba improved since then?

A. Since that time certain radical foreign elements have obtained a foothold in Cuban labor organizations, and it has been necessary for the Government to deal energetically with them. Fortunately, the Cuban element is now unquestionably in the ascendancy, and I anticipate no further serious troubles with labor unions. Workmen have undeniably the right to obtain the best terms for their contributions to the common output, but with due respect to the interest of the rest of the community.

Q. Was General Crowder able to work out an election law that will be satisfactory to all the large national parties at the next election?

A. It is the general belief that the modifications introduced by General Crowder in our electoral law will do away with a great many abuses that have been in practice. A true electoral census has now been worked out, and the elections this year will conclusively demonstrate the great benefits to be derived from the new law.

Q. What change of attitude, or of policy, is essential to enable the United States to take the leadership in a new Pan-American movement based on community of interests and a genuine desire to be helpful? What effect is the American occupation of Haiti and the Dominican Republic having on other Latin-American states?

A. The policy announced by President Wilson in his Mobile speech is, in my opinion, the one most likely to produce the desired results and to insure to the United States the preëminent position to which it is entitled among the republics of the Western Hemisphere. If the occupation of Haiti and Santo Domingo is brought to an end as soon as the circumstances permit it, I have no doubt but that the Latin-American sentiment in favor of the United States will receive a powerful impulse. Of course, with us there is no fear of ulterior motives on the part of the United States in this matter, as we have good reason to know otherwise.

America's Ireland: Haiti-Santo Domingo

By AN ONLOOKER

NOW that the world is again at peace—except for a score or so of minor wars which the League of Nations can afford to ignore for the time being—the opportunity is at hand for the altruistic and constructive statesmen assembled in Washington to give some thought to Caribbean affairs. They might, for example, take up in a serious way the island of Haiti-Santo Domingo, where the right of the smaller peoples to self-determination has been worked out according to the best American ideals by the Hon. Josephus Daniels, who is Czar of Haiti and Lord Protector of Santo Domingo, by virtue of his office as Secretary of the Navy. The Congress of the United States doesn't know this, of course, for Mr. Daniels's duties are purely extra-constitutional, and the censorship on Caribbean affairs has been so severe that the last American newspaper man to visit Haiti was compelled to assume the disguise of a ser-

geant in the U. S. Marine Corps (which became him mightily) so as not to offend the susceptibilities of Mr. Daniels's friends down there; and he seems also to have been obliged to view things through Marine Corps spectacles, which possess the gift of making everything appear for the best in this best of all possible worlds.

It was understood, of course, that the protection of the American navy was necessary to keep both Haitians and Dominicans from falling into the clutches of the former Kaiser Wilhelm, but now that Mr. Wilson has brought peace to all the world—with certain exceptions—that necessity is no longer imperative, and we find ourselves in the predicament of the Irishman who caught a Tartar and wanted to let him go. The Tartar, it may be recalled, wouldn't let him. Of course, were Mr. Daniels omniscient and omnipresent, conditions would have worked out otherwise. It was never

his intention to embitter these two peoples living on one island to a point which gives us a duplication of the Irish problem. He could not understand that between the black Haitians of French culture and the dark Dominicans of Spanish descent there could exist anything warmer than brotherly affection. He did not know that economic conditions had been fixed by a treaty between the two peoples half a century ago. Primarily Mr. Daniels had two objects in view. One was to keep the Kaiser out of the island, wherein he had the assistance of the French, British, Italian, and other Powers. The other was to keep the peace in Haiti-Santo Domingo. In the first of these purposes he was distinctly successful. The Kaiser is *not* in either republic. If he failed in the second, it was because he was too busy with larger matters to give America's Ireland the necessary attention.

Even the admirers of the Secretary of the Navy will admit that he has failed as a pacificator. There is a revolt in northern Haiti at this time in which it is estimated that several thousand Haitians are in arms against the sovereignty of the United States, the dignity of its Marine Corps, and the peace and happiness of its Secretary of the Navy. A part of the gendarmerie so carefully organized among the Haitians by General Smedley D. Butler has deserted and gone over to the enemy, taking their weapons with them. United States Marines, together with such of the native constabulary as have remained loyal to the United States, are fighting these rebels, who have the same advantage of knowing the country and how to live on it that has enabled Villa to go free for so many years in Mexico. This, of course, is a matter of great grief to Mr. Daniels.

The Dominicans are, for the moment, causing less trouble. To begin with, there are only 900,000 Dominicans, as compared with 2,000,000 Haitians, and the terrain is more favorable to control by regular troops. And Mr. Daniels is not only an inventive person, but a man capable of assimilating the best ideas of other people and improving upon them. Thus when Weyler was Captain-General of Cuba, he put into effect a system of concentration camps. Barbed wire netting was stretched over beautiful, well-shaded and well-watered park lands, and Cubans who refused to be good were invited to picnic with their families in these enclosures, where everything was provided for their comfort except food, clothing, and medicines. Sometimes one of these wicked Cubans would break through the net, and then, of course, Captain-General Weyler's soldiers shot him. This method of pacification was much admired at the time, but it had the disadvantage of sometimes depopulating the districts pacified, and a lot of sentimental people called Weyler names for his pains—especially in the United States. Mr. Daniels, however, has improved greatly on General Weyler's methods. There are people in Santo Domingo who have no more appreciation of the kindly and benevolent rule of Mr. Daniels than the Cubans felt for that of Weyler, and when Mr. Daniels put the Weyler *reconcentrado* system into effect in the districts of San Pedro de Macoris and Seybo, they showed a strong disinclination to enter the camps, pretending that they had a pig or two, or some bananas, or cane, or other agricultural product that needed attention, and that they could not afford to picnic in Mr. Daniels's barbed-wire enclosures. Their ingratitude was so great that, Mr. Daniels having refused to provide them with food, which was badly needed at the time by our Allies in Europe, some of them pretended to die of starvation, just as the wicked

Cubans had done in Weyler's time. But Mr. Daniels improved on Weyler's methods, in adapting them to pacification in Santo Domingo. There was a "drive," or "round-up," at which the United States Marines drove the wretched Dominicans into the camps; but some managed to hide, as in Weyler's experiment, greatly to the annoyance and mortification of the military leaders. Mr. Daniels therefore adopted the ingenious scheme of sending a naval aeroplane around the outskirts of the camp, which dropped bombs on the unreasonable natives who persisted in sticking to their huts, making the neighborhood so unpleasant, in fact, that the Dominicans came to prefer even Mr. Daniels's concentration camps to open fields in which they were attacked from the air. Probably by now, the Macoris and Seybo districts are completely pacified. At any rate the Dominicans have learned their lesson. Mr. Daniels does not himself visit his tropical possessions, preferring to rule them through a viceregal officer.

When the sessions of the peace conference began in Paris, Admiral Knapp was succeeded as viceroy by Rear-Admiral Snowden, who was at one time in command of the Presidential yacht *Mayflower*, and distinguished himself greatly in that capacity. Admiral Snowden is the first of Mr. Daniels's personal representatives to exercise supreme authority over the entire island of Haiti-Santo Domingo, but he retains the viceregal seat at Santo Domingo City, and contents himself with the title of Military Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces. Such modesty is appropriate at this time, for in Haiti there is still a nominal Haitian Government, of which Sudre Dartiguenave is President; while in the Dominican Republic, there being no President, or Congress, or Army, or anything of that sort, Admiral Snowden is compelled to take upon himself the duties of President, Senate, and House of Representatives.

Admiral-President Snowden inherited his Cabinet from Admiral Knapp, but with certain changes from the official family first gathered together by his predecessor, and the Council of State and Cabinet is now composed as follows:

Brigadier-General Ben H. Fuller, U. S. M. C., Secretary of War, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Police, Secretary of Marine, Secretary to the Admiral, commanding U. S. forces ashore operating in the Dominican Republic. He succeeds Brigadier-General Pendleton, who preferred to take service in France.

Colonel Rufus H. Lane, U. S. M. C., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Attorney General, and Secretary of Public Instruction. Colonel Lane held these same offices under Admiral Knapp.

Lieut.-Commander Ralph Whitman, U. S. N., Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Immigration.

Commander C. C. Baughman, U. S. N., Secretary of Public Improvements (Fomento) and Secretary of Communications.

Lieut.-Commander Arthur H. Mayo, U. S. N., Secretary of the Treasury (Hacienda).

A small but compact and efficient body of men, these, who exercise their authority only in the Dominican Republic, and do not interfere with the members of the Haitian Cabinet having similar functions.

The fiscal agent and depository of Mr. Daniels's viceregal state in the Caribbean is the International Banking Corporation, a subsidiary of the National City Bank of New York. This corporation, it may be said in passing, virtually

dominates the banking interests in the Dominican Republic these days, although the National Bank of Santo Domingo, largely owned by an American family named Jarvis, and the Royal Bank of Canada still maintain offices, and have a share in commercial affairs. Mr. Daniels continues to support as diplomatic agent near his Caribbean government the Hon. William Worthington Russell, who was displaced by William Jennings Bryan some years ago to make room for a deserving Democrat, the Hon. Mr. Sullivan. In the old days, Mr. Russell was only a Minister Resident and Consul General, but on his return to the diplomatic service he was raised to the higher rank and emoluments of Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary, the last part of his title having nothing to do with the fact that he is accredited to a chief of state whose salary and authority are derived from the United States Navy.

It must not be assumed from the facts presented in this article that the gentlemen named are in any way unfitted for their posts, or responsible for any errors of judgment that Mr. Daniels may have made, such as the application of the Weyler *reconcentrado* system to his private estate—for as such the island of Haiti-Santo Domingo is now considered. These gentlemen are doing their best to administer the Government for the benefit of the Dominican people, and are succeeding to a large extent. True, they have not pacified Santo Domingo or Haiti; they have not reconciled the people to the loss of their independence; but up to this time they have prevented the American business interests from gobbling up all the property of the natives. When Captain Knapp took possession of the Dominican Republic, American investments were estimated at only \$10,000,000. In the last three years they have increased only 50 per cent.

Among those rights usually enjoyed by American citizens which do not follow the flag into the Caribbean are civil government, trial by duly constituted civil courts, freedom of the press, of speech, and of assemblage. As Czar of Haiti, Lord Protector of Santo Domingo, and Secretary of the United States Navy, Mr. Daniels wisely decided that these American constitutional privileges would only be abused by the dwellers on his Caribbean estates unless modified to suit the tropical environment. Martial law followed the landing of Marines in Haiti, and is still in force, although the machinery of the Haitian courts is intact; and under martial law a Marine can do no wrong—to a native Haitian. Martial law was proclaimed by Captain (now Rear-Admiral) Knapp when he took over the sovereignty of the Dominican Republic on behalf of Mr. Daniels. It is still in force, although the machinery of civil justice is the sole vestige remaining of the years when Santo Domingo was free. The only American officer accused of a serious offense preferred suicide to a court martial, from which it may be deduced that the Dominicans themselves would rather be judged by their own courts. There is no civil government in Santo Domingo, Admiral Snowden being responsible only to his overlord, Mr. Daniels, with whom he communicates by means of a *chargé d'affaires*, Señor Luis Galván, whose legation is conveniently located in a Washington apartment house.

Freedom of the press, however, has never occasioned Mr. Daniels any anxiety. Editors of newspapers in Santo Domingo were always willing to give space to advertisements of government contracts which were approved by the censorship, rather than to attacks on the American occupation, which the censorship forbade. Even *El Listin Diario* of

Santo Domingo City is edited on the maxim "safety first," and is now the nearest possible approach to George Creel's ideal newspaper. Somewhat different methods were employed in Haiti. The chief newspaper in Haiti is *Le Nouvelliste*, edited by Henri Chauvet, a man of mature discretion, who was pro-American and pro-Ally before the American occupation, and has been ever since. *Le Nouvelliste* and its rival, *Le Matin*, which was distinctly pro-German during the days when Americans were urged to be neutral in thought as well as in action, were both disposed to be friendly to the Marine Corps, and doubtless were not influenced by the thought that their importations of news-print might be shut off if they were not. But Mr. Chauvet was foolish enough to suppose that it was the purpose of a newspaper to publish news; and so when he was handed "an exclusive tip" that Addison J. Ruan, American Financial Adviser to the Government of Haiti, was about to be recalled, he printed a four-line "spread" on a subject which possessed the same relative importance in Haiti that Mr. McAdoo's resignation had in the United States. Mr. Chauvet was called before the acting chef of the gendarmerie of Haiti, who also draws a salary and holds a commission in the Marine Corps, and was invited to tell where he got "that damned lie about Ruan." Mr. Chauvet replied that he had printed the item in good faith, believing it to be true, but that he would be glad to publish a denial if it were not. Monsieur le Chef demanded the name of Mr. Chauvet's informant, which was refused, Mr. Chauvet declining to get a friend into the trouble which he now saw was coming to himself. Thereupon, without further delay or formality, Monsieur le Chef de la Gendarmerie d'Haiti fined the editor \$300, and kept him in jail until the fine was paid. The same day a clerk in a New York bank was discharged without warning, recommendation, or salary beyond the minute of his dismissal. He was a son of Mr. Chauvet. *Le Nouvelliste* was suspended for three months.

This episode shows the zeal with which the liberty of the press is upheld by the servants of Mr. Daniels on his Caribbean estates. The unfortunate part of the story is—and doubtless it has greatly disturbed Mr. Daniels, who is an eminent editor himself in private life—that Mr. Chauvet's tip was correct. Soon after he paid his fine and was released from jail, Mr. Ruan was recalled, and John A. McIlhenny, then president of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, was sent down to replace him. Of course it might be some satisfaction to Mr. Chauvet to realize that he had "scooped" the editor of *The Raleigh News and Observer* on a naval story, but a jail is a jail, and \$300 is 1,500 gourdes, the gourde in Haiti buying as much and being as hard to get as a dollar in the United States. As to freedom of speech and the right to assemble, one need only recall the fate of the last Haitian Congress to realize how funny these things seem to Mr. Daniels in places where his power is absolute. Soon after taking possession of Haiti, Mr. Daniels found a national election on his hands. He determined that it should be the finest thing of the kind that ever happened in Haiti; so the Marines were instructed to spread the news through the republic that every citizen was expected to vote—according to the list of preferred candidates sent out from the headquarters of the gendarmerie in Port-au-Prince. The result was an overwhelming tribute to the popularity of the American troops, and a safe majority in the Haitian Congress to support anything Mr. Daniels might ask of them. But no sooner had the ungrateful wretches

received their allowances of writing materials, etc., than they began to backbite their master, refusing to listen to his voice in the matter of appropriations for the enlargement of the gendarmerie, declining to turn the posts and telegraphs of the Republic over to the United States, and otherwise manifesting an unruly spirit. Mr. Daniels saw at once that Haiti was incapable of parliamentary government, and Major (now General) Smedley D. Butler, U. S. M. C., who also held the rank and pay of General of Division in the service of the Republic of Haiti, was ordered to surround the Congress with a mixed force of Marines and gendarmes, and tell it to go home and stay there. He did. So did it. What a lesson for the expansion of the executive power in our own unfortunate country!

The following things are reasonably certain: Neither Haiti nor Santo Domingo is now menaced by the German Navy. Neither country is held as United States territory, or occupied by the consent of the inhabitants. Neither country has been completely pacified by the United States Marine Corps. Martial law in both countries is not the best means of educating the citizens of either to the responsibilities of representative government. The world cannot be made safe for democracy while the Secretary of the Navy rules, with absolute power and without the consent of the governed, an island which compares with Ireland in area, in the number of its inhabitants, and in the intensity with which two races of widely different characteristics hate each other. One other thing is certain. An economic fusion of the Haitian and Dominican peoples is as impossible, no matter what pressure may be exerted by the United States, as an ecclesiastical fusion between Kilkenny and Belfast.

Mr. Hoover as England Sees Him

By HERBERT W. HORWILL

London, January 27

"PRESIDENT WILSON ceases to interest a world which looks eagerly for every speech made by Mr. Hoover." This remark of a London paper, occurring incidentally in a note on the disappearance of Clemenceau and other prominent political figures of the war period, represents faithfully a change that is now passing over the mind of the British public. As regards Mr. Hoover himself, his Presidential "boom" was anticipated on this side six months ago. At that time, those Englishmen who mentioned his name in discussions of the next election were told by their American friends that Mr. Hoover's nomination was flatly impossible. The fact that he was not "in politics" was put forward as a conclusive barrier to his candidacy. But what if the next Presidential election itself should not be "in politics"? When English observers speculated about Mr. Hoover's chances of becoming the next President, what they had in their minds was the prospect that, by next summer, the social and economic situation in America would be so grave that the American people would sweep aside all precedents of party struggles and call for a leader who had shown his power of tackling a big economic problem. Mr. Hoover seemed to English observers the only man in sight who was capable of meeting this demand. Recent developments of American affairs are interpreted here as confirming this forecast. It is for this reason, and not from any idea that he is "pro-British," that the rally to Mr. Hoover is arousing so much interest in this country.

The greater significance that is being attached to the economic factors of the international situation is attested by the stir that has been made by J. Maynard Keynes's book, while the decision to reopen trade with Russia is generally accepted as a sign of the awakening of the Allied Governments to the supreme importance of the economic issues. British financiers are expecting that the raising of the Russian blockade will considerably relieve the difficulty of the Anglo-American exchange. The tapping of new resources of grain and other raw materials will not only lessen our demand upon America for these commodities, but will lower the cost to us of whatever goods we continue to import. Further, the opening of Odessa and other ports hitherto closed will be followed by a greater demand for tonnage, and the ensuing competition will lead to a rise in freights from which British shipping will gain the greatest benefit. The volume of British "invisible exports" will thus be increased, and the position of this country in the international exchange will be correspondingly improved.

It is early as yet to say whether events will really follow this course, for no one can be quite certain whether the reported decision of the Supreme Council will be actually carried out. We have been warned by past experience to look for some concealed "joker" in every announcement of a more enlightened policy toward Russia. The *Times* is, of course, furious at any suggestion of resumption of trade before the Soviet Government is overthrown, and the militarist party, within the Cabinet and outside it, is strong enough to put up a stiff fight for further support of the Russian reactionaries. No one, indeed, who is concerned about the danger of wild-cat imperialist adventures will feel quite safe as long as Winston Churchill remains at the War Office. It is, perhaps, worth noting that the *British Weekly*, a paper closely in touch with the Prime Minister, now calls for the dismissal of Mr. Churchill from the Cabinet, or at any rate from the War Office. Admitting his brilliant gifts, his marvellous industry, and his driving force, it adds "But he must not drive us over the precipice—as he will if he can."

The Independent Liberals are building great hopes upon Mr. Asquith's candidature for Paisley. They are not only looking forward to his return to Parliament and the consequent development of a strong Opposition, but they are expecting that his speeches during the election will produce an electric effect upon the country something like that of Gladstone's Midlothian campaign. But Asquith is no Gladstone, and the political situation is in no respect comparable to that of 1879. Disraeli's supporters could not have alleged against Gladstone that he was himself implicated in the policies that the nation intended to make an end of.

Mr. Asquith's Labor opponent is an unknown man, and any success he may gain will be due entirely to the strength of his cause. The constituency of Paisley is largely industrial, and it borders closely on the Clyde district where Labor feeling has been acutely stirred during the war. A defeat of the ex-Premier by a Labor candidate would mark a conspicuous advance in the march of the Labor party toward political power. The recent elections at St. Alban's, Bromley, and Spen Valley have stimulated a lively discussion of the competence of Labor to form a Government. Some of those who have disparaged its capacity have shown a very imperfect appreciation of what the Labor party really is. They have spoken of it as though it were a purely trade-union organization, forgetting the difference that has al-

ready been made by the recent broadening of its basis. They overlook, too, the assistance that a Labor Government would receive in the work of administration from the permanent civil service, a corps of experts trained to political neutrality and accustomed to serve Parliamentary chiefs of any color with equal diligence and fidelity. A curious feature of the situation is the sympathy Lord Haldane has been showing lately toward the political aspirations of Labor. His recognition in a speech at Edinburgh that Labor, as he put it, had captured the heights, while Liberals were down in the plain, has been widely commented on, and elicited from Mr. Asquith a clever retort which illustrates the perils of metaphor for the political speaker. ("The battle of politics," said Mr. Asquith, "is carried on not on the heights but on the plains.") What is possibly even more significant—though it has passed almost unnoticed—is that the other day Lord Haldane contributed a signed and complimentary review of George Lansbury's latest book to the columns of the *Daily Herald*. Does this remarkable friendliness indicate that Lord Haldane is preparing the way for an invitation to become Lord Chancellor in a Labor Government? Rumor gives some support to that conclusion, but his intimate connection with the imperialist section of the Liberal party would make a very definite recantation necessary before there would be any possibility of his association with a Labor Ministry.

The real weakness of the Labor party will be revealed, not during the general election campaign, but if and when it has to assume the responsibilities of office. And that weakness will be due not to any administrative incapacity, but to conflict within its own ranks on matters of imperial policy. Its various sections may be in perfect agreement on such questions as the nationalization of the mines, but there will be an inevitable split the moment they touch international matters. Both among the leaders and in the rank and file one may find every shade of opinion, from jingoism to pacifism, and any test question of foreign policy will dissolve the present Labor combination into so many groups that the unity of the party will be hopelessly at an end. A collapse of that kind may prove to be the beginning of a new and more reasonable alignment of the political forces of the United Kingdom.

Contributors to this Issue

MARY AUSTIN, well-known for her books and magazine articles, particularly on the Southwest, has lately been making studies in that region for the Carnegie Foundation.

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In the Driftway

ACCORDING to London correspondence of the *Sun* (must one add "and New York *Herald*"?) the passenger packer of the New York subways has arrived in the tubes of the British capital. The crowds have become so unwieldy recently that at important stations men are now employed to clear and load the cars as quickly as possible. One doubts if the London packer has yet acquired quite the dig in the small of a passenger's back that acts like a spur to a racehorse, or if he has learned to throw his weight on a mass of humanity so scientifically as to catapult a dozen persons at once through a four-foot door. All that will come in time, however. The British are our Allies, and the Drifter has every confidence in them. It seems fair, too, that the British should be importing some of our transit methods at a moment when we are borrowing theirs. New York and other cities, where the street railways have broken down financially and mechanically, is now experimenting hopefully with the informal jitney or the more formal and sizable motor omnibus that has so long been a basic fact in London transit. Fortunately, neither city, in adopting transit methods of the other, knows how bad they are. But it would make no difference. Neither city is in a position to pick and choose; the public must be transported somehow.

* * *

IN America the street railway companies have generally milked their business about dry, and are therefore arriving at the stage where they are willing to sell to municipalities, at a tidy figure, accumulated problems of mismanagement together with depreciated tracks and rolling stock. This is true to precedent. When the ferries of New York began to run at a loss several years ago, the necessary routes were taken over by the city, and it appears to be a generally accepted principle that municipal ownership and operation of a public utility shall be undertaken only after it has ceased to be profitable. This, of course, has a double advantage: it enables private owners to sell an otherwise unsalable product, and it affords an example to which they can point in future as proving that municipally-owned public utilities are invariably run at a loss and to the dissatisfaction of the public.

* * *

BUT the Drifter is of the opinion that although we may acquire most of the unpleasant features of the London omnibus—the jerks; the vibration that ruins the eyes of those who try to read; the spattering mud—we can never import one, at least, of its charms: that is, the quaint names on its sign-boards which describe the route and its terminals. The London omnibus, of course, is the lineal successor of the old horse-drawn stage which in days gone by plied between one inn and another. Fortunately for the picturesqueness of London nomenclature, the names of these old public houses still survive in the designation of the routes, as do other names that recall a more primitive civilization. In prohibition America we can have no omnibuses announcing as their destinations the Elephant and Castle or the Bell, the Spotted Dog, the Falcon, the Greyhound, or the North Star. We may hope for omnibus sign-boards on which one may read Seaview Heights or Glendale Manor, but never can one expect Kensal Rise or Shepherd's Bush,

Highbury Barn or Wormwood Scrubs. The Drifter remembers mounting once to the hurricane deck of a bus going to Wormwood Scrubs, consumed with curiosity to see what romance might await him at the end of the route. He rode on and on until everybody else had got off, but when the bus finally stopped, it was at a spot so dismal and commonplace that the Drifter kept his seat and went back to the surer charms of E. C.

* * *

ONE cannot but regret the advent of the passenger packer in the London tubes if for no other reason than that it probably means the end of that public politeness that has survived in London long after its disappearance in most other large cities. Without a doubt crowded transportation has been a chief agent in ruining public manners. It is hard to be courteous when one has to fight for the chance to get into a car, and the nervous state that this begets manifests itself in jostling and rudeness even at times when there is no excuse for it. Paris was once held up as the paragon of politeness, but anybody who has visited it in the last ten years, with its underground "Métro" packed to suffocation and its inadequate surface transportation, has discovered that its street manners are quite as deplorable as those that have developed in New York or even Buenos Aires.

* * *

SOMEWHERE the Drifter remembers hearing mention made of the transit of Venus. Perhaps it is better than ours. Perhaps after we have visited the Martians, we may drop in on the Venusians and carry away some ideas for a city transit system superior to any that we now have. It could not well be worse.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

America and the League

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: No provision of the treaty is more iniquitous than the award to the United States of several billion dollars worth of property of German citizens. Even the award of Shantung to Japan has a military sanction. It would indeed be a source of satisfaction to those who have a sense of justice and national honor that we should be compelled to restore or pay for the private property seized, rightfully enough, during the war, but it would be even more satisfactory, as with the Chinese indemnity, to voluntarily return it. We went into the war, so we said, from altruistic motives, to make the world safe for democracy, and to secure the rights of weak nations. Germany now is surely weak enough, without an army or navy, impoverished, bankrupt, but with a government such as we insisted she must have.

As the one great nation supposed to be solvent, to whom Europe must look for immediate supplies of food, material, and credit, as a member of the League we could do much to mitigate the rigors of the treaty. If magnanimous enough to refuse our share of the plunder, we could exert a compelling influence in the settlement of a multitude of vexed questions in the interest of justice and humanity. The League will not perfectly function until there is an international legislature and an international court to administer a recognized body of international law. Meantime, it seems to me that we should make trial of the present organization, taking our share of responsibility, and strive to cure its defects.

Melrose, Florida, January 22

H. E. WARNER

Upton Sinclair's Proposed Newspaper

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have read with great interest the article by Upton Sinclair on "Building an Honest Newspaper." My comment is that a paper accomplishing the end that Sinclair aims to attain has been established for the last half century. That paper is *The Nation*. *The Nation* is not as democratically controlled as is suggested, and does furnish the very best editorial comment; but even so, it does also "reliably present . . . not all the news, for that is physically impossible, but that news which is most vitally important, that news which is being slighted by the big commercial publications."

If Mr. Sinclair wishes to found a newspaper which will do more than that which is already being well done by *The Nation*, and by other publications, he must contemplate a paper which will reliably present practically all of the news. This, of course, cannot be accomplished in a weekly. Mr. Sinclair is loading too big a gun for the game he is after. My suggestion is that he, and those of us interested with him in getting news reliably presented, should undertake to apply this well thought out organization to the conduct of a daily. That would be something worth while, and would command a clear field with not a single competitor.

Navesink, N. J., February 8

W. G. RAOUL

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Hurrah for Sinclair! The real America will rise to the *National News*. There occur to me two objections, namely, the price of subscription and the Government. Would not such elaborate preparations for the publication of the truth necessitate a prohibitive subscription price? In this case the object would be defeated. Besides, have we any assurance that the Postoffice Department would approve a paper with the slogan: "The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?"

Worthington, Pa., February 7

THEODORE DARNELL, JR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: With nearly all that Upton Sinclair says about the dishonesty and ignorance of the average newspaper I heartily agree. But when he comes to suggest a remedy—his national newspaper—he shows how all projects of that kind must fail. In his list of twenty-three persons suggested for the executive board there are at least five who are advocates of the iniquitous violation of personal liberty and individual rights involved in prohibitory legislation. Of the others, only two have ever, so far as I have been able to learn from their public utterances, said one word in condemnation of this attempt of the "good people" to dictate to their wicked fellow-citizens as to the beverages that they may drink. Suppose the *National News* established. Would it publish the truth about the amazing campaign of unfounded assertions, invented statistics, and deliberate falsehoods that has imposed prohibition upon us?

New York, February 6

WHIDDEN GRAHAM

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You may count on us for \$500 if the *National News* is established as outlined by Upton Sinclair, although we believe that other methods of disseminating the truth are more practical.

It can hardly be denied that a vast number of people will not voluntarily put themselves in the way of obtaining information that will cause them to change their opinions. Faith once established in a religion, or political party, or economic doctrine is considered sacred and to be protected from insidious propaganda. Therefore, people who most need enlightenment regarding the facts of life, and the truth of current history, will not be apt to subscribe to a weekly paper devoted to the presentation of the unpleasant as well as the orthodox side of daily occurrences.

New York, February 8

THE ARBITRATOR

This Dust of Dreams

By LESLIE NELSON JENNINGS

WHEN the eventual Silence shall impugn
 These stubborn lips and close them on a cry;
 When stone shall crumble and the sea defy
 Its wonted ways, contemptuous of the moon;
 I shall not wonder then, or be aghast,
 Though all the stars be harvested, and feet
 Of fire tread out the darnel and the wheat,
 And sky be wedded unto sky at last.

O moon of my desire that rises chill
 From the infructuous caverns of despair—
 O moon of marble!—let the sea forsake
 Its channels, and in darkness do its will!
 This dust of dreams shall find fulfilment where
 No dawn can trouble and no morning awake!

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- The Yale Book of Student Verse, 1910-1919.* Edited by John Andrews, Stephen Vincent Benét, John C. Farrar, Pierson Underwood. Yale University Press.
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- Stuff.* An Anthology of Verse. The Four Seas Company.
- More Translations from the Chinese.* By Arthur Waley. Alfred A. Knopf.
- Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1919.* Edited by William Stanley Braithwaite. Small, Maynard and Company.
- The Book of Modern British Verse.* Edited by William Stanley Braithwaite. Small, Maynard and Company.

THOSE who gather and arrange blossoms from the meadows of Parnassus issue as the fashion of the year neat little boutonnières and carefully selected centre-pieces for the library or drawing-room table. Gone are the heavy calf-bound "Elegant Extracts" and "Chaucer to Johnson" of the former age. The meanest flower that blows may have its place beside the most precious—daisies and buttercups, anemones and arbutus, fox-gloves and hollyhock, violets and sunflowers, Joe Pye weed, skunk-cabbage, orchids, passion-flowers, night-blooming cereus, poppies from China, and poppies from the fields of war—take what you will from what hand you like, that of Perdita, Ophelia, or Autolycus.

In "Modern American Poetry" Mr. Untermeyer traces a current which first shows its trend about 1890, though its impulse is

farther back, in the work of Walt Whitman. It marks a departure from the older poetry which the editor describes as remote from experience, mythological, moralizing; legendary, classical, or traditional themes treated in intricate versification, ornate literary phrasing, stilted language, rare rhetorical words, "peradventures," "forsooths," "alackadays," and "O thou's." The modern poetry, he tells us, differs from the old in that it finds beauty in familiar things, in the "divine average"; it is "fresh vigorous poetry in a world of honest and sometimes harsh reality." It may deal with familiar subjects, indeed any subject. It uses the daily vocabulary and the every-day phrase; its lines reflect the tones of ordinary speech. Its moods are sincerity and intensity. It lays emphasis on emotion, always on matter rather than manner. About all this the most striking fact is the closeness with which Mr. Untermeyer's thought and phrase parallel the thought and phrase of the prefaces to the "Lyrical Ballads"—the "gaudy and inane phraseology" of the older school; the purpose of Wordsworth and Coleridge "to choose incidents and situations from common life, and to relate or describe them, throughout, as far as was possible in a selection of language really used by men"; genuine emotion to be aroused "without the aid of gross or violent stimulants"; and freedom to the poet to "follow wheresoever he can find an atmosphere of sensation in which to move his wings." Very likely the parallel is more striking than significant—or striking where it holds and significant where it breaks. It may indicate that the literary wave interval is about a hundred years.

In the preface to "The Second Book of Modern Verse" Miss Rittenhouse emphasizes the idea of the series, "small intimate volumes that shall be typical of the period." Can anything small and intimate typify the last five years? The lines that express most accurately the impression of the volume are Conrad Aiken's in *The Morning Song of Senlin*:

Stars in the purple dusk above the rooftops
 Pale in a saffron mist and seem to die,
 And I myself on a swiftly tilting planet
 Stand before a glass and tie my tie.

If a book is to be representative of the period we must have something more than saffron mist and pale stars, and decorous poets "Doing [again in the words of Senlin] the things their fathers learned to do." The planet tilted, and not all men, least of all the poets, stood to dally with mirrors and ties. Miss Rittenhouse's book is intimate; you can live with it as you can with your wall-paper, of which you demand no emotional stimulus; if it intrudes no mood of its own, neither does it respond to yours. There is beauty here, but most of it is frail; you fear to drop the book lest something should break. But some of the poets stand out. Against the saffron mist Robert Frost shows like a New England hill with a background of cloudless sunset. Amy Lowell splashes the saffron with Chinese colors, and weaves patterns of her own among the pale stars. Edwin Arlington Robinson etches it with clean thrilling lines like those of naked trees.

When the first guns of the war cracked their mirrors from side to side, most of the poets dropped their ties. At whatever cost, war feeds with emotion the roots of poetry, causing it to grow with new vigor on familiar ground and to spring freshly in fields before barren. To many a doughboy poetry was one of the new experiences of the war—"Me that ain't a poet growin' poetic!" he chirps nervously. "The A. E. F. was about the most sentimental outfit that ever lived," declare the editors of "Yanks"; "Most of it—so it seemed to anyone who served on the staff of the *Stars and Stripes*—wrote poetry. All of it read poetry." If this assertion comes as a surprise to anyone, it will not be to him who was with the doughboy in his hours of ease. He absorbed poetry wherever he could lay his hands on it, and exuded it at every pore. This from the *Stars and Stripes* is in many aspects the most interesting poetry of the war, because it is so nearly communal. And in so far as it is communal it is specially interesting because it is so little narra-

tive and so largely lyric. Nearly every poem here expresses the writer's emotion, yet the writer is of no great importance; the emotion as well as the phrase that sets it forth is just what the writer has in common with two million men. Whatever one felt about "mud and cooties and gas and mess-kits and Boche 77's and home and mother," exactly that all the others felt also. Emotion of all kinds found ready expression, in "beefing," in yelling at boxing matches and baseball games, and in poetry. Of that poetry "Yanks" is the cream, skimmed first for the "Army Poets" column of the *Stars and Stripes* and a second time for the book. He who would know how the A. E. F. felt will find here what he seeks.

"A Treasury of War Poetry" is Professor George Herbert Clarke's second gleaning, and a volume of pocket size from which, the editor tells us, he has had to exclude material he would willingly have retained, yet it is surprisingly comprehensive, and well selected, too, if sustained high quality is the test of selection. Whether the poet speaks for romance or realism in war, extols its glory or protests its horrors, his work is here so long as it speaks the language of poetry. Not so "The Paths of Glory," which has no voice but that of protest. There is poetry in it that cries from the heart; many of the poems are in the other collection also; but there is verse, too, that is mere pacifist propaganda and often propaganda without a singing voice or any ear for music.

Books of college verse from Yale, Princeton, and Bryn Mawr raise the question, Is college verse really much better than it used to be? Perhaps it only seems so here where we have the cream served, and the skimming is done behind the scenes. Or is it that the war has struck crystals into the emotional welter of youth? These anthologies cover only the period of the war, but there are in them a few names of those who have already graduated into the broader realms of general periodicals and anthologies. Of the others one might augur much from the quality of their poetry, were it not for experience which tells how quickly the light of common day pales the spark—out of fifty college poets time brings only one to bear.

In the "Pagan Anthology" there are only a few lines of poetry; most college teachers would call these fragments daily themes. Every instructor has read thousands of them, and it adds no whit to their pregnancy that they are chopped into lengths. Rhythmic pattern, cadence of any sort, are rare in the book, and image and diction are sophomoric. There is scarcely a line that sings, or a verse that exhibits anything but the Freudian psychology of young persons with hair Hollandaise and blouses à la Russe. "Stuff" appears to have been cleansed from stuffed bosoms, perilous to them, and as interesting to others as might be expected of such cleansings—frogs, spiders, pollywogs, and monkeys in their least presentable aspects; there must be some way of getting them off your mind without putting them on the minds of others.

From such as these it is a relief to turn to a volume of the quality of Arthur Waley's "More Translations from the Chinese." To many of us it has not before been given to find in Chinese poetry anything like the feeling we find in the better examples of other forms of Chinese art. The feeling is here, enough like our own to satisfy us as human, different enough to keep us always in the foreign atmosphere. The rhythms, too, are ingeniously woven; the beat is regular enough to give rhythm, but the pattern of sentence modulation runs free, as in The Great Summons:

Green Spring receiveth
The vacant earth;
The white sun shineth;
Spring wind provoketh
To burst and burgeon
Each sprout and flower.
In those dark caves where Winter lurketh
Hide not, my Soul!
O Soul come back again! O, do not stray!

O Soul come back again and go not east or west, or north or south!

For to the East a mighty water drowneth Earth's other shore;
Tossed on its waves and heaving with its tides

The hornless Dragon of the Ocean rideth:

Clouds gather low and fogs enfold the sea

And gleaming ice drifts past.

O Soul go not to the East,

To the silent Valley of Sunrise!

Of the "Anthology of Magazine Verse" one must believe that it would have been quite as representative if it had contained more poetry and less journalism. There is poetry here of a grade we like to boast of being able to find every day in the magazines, that of Conrad Aiken, Sara Teasdale, Clement Wood, Edwin Arlington Robinson, and sundry others. There is singing here that is something more than verse, and there is verse that is something less than poetry. Such things as *South State Street* and *With the Tide* belong in the Sunday newspaper, and like macaroni they cannot be made into poetry by being broken into irregular lengths. The editor is much more successful in making a book worth having in his "Book of Modern British Verse," in which his purpose is to exhibit the period which "has now definitely assumed the name of 'Georgian.' It began with John Masefield and has grown into the newer blossoming of Siegfried Sassoon, Robert Graves, and Robert Nichols." It exhibits the period fairly enough without characterizing it, and with this book as with other anthologies, even the best, the critical reader will miss old friends and make new ones.

ROBERT P. UTTER

On Our Liberalism

Liberalism in America. By Harold Stearns. Boni and Live-right.

MR. STEARNS'S aim in writing this book was presumably to expose the failure of American liberalism in the war and to point out the path of true progress. To the first of these two considerations the greater part of his energy is devoted. He describes all the unhealthy manifestations of the last five years—the intolerance and repression, the bigotry and distortion, which have afflicted the public and its leaders. With his statement of the facts there can be no quarrel. Have they not been an unceasing irritation to every liberal thinker and writer for three years? Have not our liberal journals been declaiming against these evils with a violence which at times threatened to react unfavorably on their own spiritual balance? Mr. Stearns is a poor marksman; most of the shots which from some point in space he directs at liberals fly wide and hit the opposite camp. On only one question does he join issues fairly with liberals: he finds fault with their support of conscription during the war. But if he is himself opposed to conscription, he fails to meet squarely the difficulties imposed by his attitude. He refuses to take the uncompromising pacifist view; he is not a believer in the martyrdom of nations. He simply affirms it as his belief that the Allies could have won the war earlier without resorting to conscription! Nor is he exempt from mental confusion in his discussion of this subject. He fails to discriminate between the imposition by a military oligarchy of conscription as a fixed principle and its adoption in a moment of need with the acquiescence, however ill-considered, of practically the entire nation. He argues that conscription puts enormous power into the hands of the politician and relieves him thereafter of the restraints of public opinion, and in the very next breath he declares that popular sentiment prevented Lloyd George from conscripting men for a war on Russia. Obviously, these propositions cannot both be true.

Mr. Stearns scatters criticism, if not with open eye, at least with open hand. Having studied Mr. Bassett's one-volume history of the United States, he has learned that the Puritans were

rigid in their morals and are to blame for national prohibition. Having spent some time in Chicago, he knows that the Middle West is self-complacent, intolerant, infernally dull, and soul-corroding. In these observations Mr. Stearns has been anticipated. But he adds something of his own. The Middle West, he says, because of its dullness, its prosperity, its stubborn opposition to the war, embarked upon it, once it was launched, with fervor, with an "almost ecstatic enjoyment," and he explains the phenomenon by the aid of the Freudian psychology. We hope that Mr. Stearns understands psychoanalysis better than he does the spirit in which the Middle West entered the war. But his insight in this particular is no less keen than that which he displays in diagnosing the motives which impelled all classes of American citizens. What he says about college professors is a fair example: "They [with honorable exceptions] supported the campaign; first, for economic reasons, since as a class they were either subsidized by or lived parasitically upon the ruling financial and social class; second, for personal reasons, since they were on friendly relations with the squirearchy of Long Island and the Back Bay; third, for professional reasons, since they had long been jealous of the accomplishments of German scholarship and culture and they intuitively sensed the war as a struggle for Anglo-Saxon prestige!"

One becomes aware after a while that for Mr. Stearns all the clear intelligence, all the honest thinking and action of the war, are summed up in a small group of advanced young men gravitating about Randolph Bourne, and one longs to escape from such mental smugness into the vast, exhilarating self-sufficiency of the Middle West. One inclines to a wish that the writer had brought to his task a little more sympathy, a little more humility, and a great deal more information, and the wish becomes very strong when one reaches his discussion of Mr. Wilson. The President of the United States has incurred just blame for his own mistakes and has had to shoulder much because of events which he could not control. In the heat of partisan politics and of journalistic combativeness a certain degree of recklessness in criticism is to be expected, if not always excused. But in a considered estimate by a liberal thinker one looks for a fair and balanced examination of causes and results. Mr. Stearns simplifies the President's problems so that any departmental clerk might have overcome them. He imputes low motives without the least apparent justification. He insinuates that the promulgation of the Fourteen Points was little more than a shrewd stage trick "to rescue his waning liberal prestige," and that the President was scarcely interested in the realization of the ideals which he so eloquently phrased. The central charge against the President is that he chloroformed the nation with noble sentiments when he should have been concentrating on immediate administrative detail. Much force as there may be in this, it comes with a poor grace from Mr. Stearns, for when we turn to his last chapter, the only one even pretending to be constructive, we can find absolutely nothing to take hold of. Liberalism, which in the preface is defined as "a tolerant and rationalistic temper," is here further diluted into a kind of benevolent impulse toward those who strive for the right end, whatever that may be. The immediate task of liberalism is to bring us through the "impending social revolution" without widespread violence. It must do this work through agencies—as for example, the larger labor unions, the Committee of Forty-eight, the Socialist Party, the Non-Partisan League, the Catholic Church, yet not by formally allying itself with them, but indirectly by encouraging and supporting all of them. Liberals, says Mr. Stearns, also have a permanent task, which is to keep alive the great human heritage of knowledge and art. In this we feel certain that the conservative will also wish to play a part. With such muddling use of words, such vague perception of ends, and such utter helplessness in proposing methods, how can Mr. Stearns set up seriously as a critic in the administration of great and complicated affairs?

JACOB ZEITLIN

The Quest of Seriousness

Avowals. By George Moore. Printed for Private Circulation.

"I T may be said that nobody understands anything so intimately as the craft that he practises, and though the praise of the amateur is always welcome it is the criticism of the fellow-craftsman that counts." In these words Mr. Moore well sums up the value of his latest book. It is a series of informal meditations, branching off into many byways of art and life, but centering in the craft of which he is a master: the art of narrative prose. The question with Mr. Moore is not "Ought I to like this novel?" but "Do I like this novel?" And he gives reasons for the faith that is in him. He is often amusingly perverse; the desire to "shock" was inherent in his generation. He considers "The Tenant of Wildfell Hall" the most promising achievement of the Brontë sisters. The one page of Pater which is in his estimation unworthy of that great master is the meditation on the Monna Lisa. He regards George Eliot as a trivial writer, and Sterne as serious. Scattered through the book is an entire gallery of finely-drawn character portraits. The discussion of the Brontës leads to Swinburne's estimation of the sisterhood, and thence to the most amiably wicked account of Swinburne's life with Watts-Dunton that has ever appeared in print. Mr. Moore puts into the mouth of Mr. Edmund Gosse words descriptive of Swinburne that were most painstakingly left out of the official life of the poet; such words as "drunkenness" and "whiskey." And there is Pater, all-powerful in the written word but impotent in life, who moved timidly behind the mask of his great military mustache through the world of London society. Still another picture is of Mallarmé and his surroundings.

With all its side-issues, its personalities, its portraits, its wisdom and wit and perversity, "Avowals" is fundamentally an essay on the English novel of quite extraordinary subtlety and of rare charm and stimulating power. It opens with the two "Conversations" with Mr. Gosse which were much commented upon on their original appearance in the *Fortnightly*. The leading thought, which winds like a golden thread through the complex texture of the book, appears almost at once. A remark in Mr. Gosse's "History of English Literature" to the effect that English genius has gone into poetry suggests a discussion of that "weakest part of our literature," the novel. The most acute observations are almost invariably allotted to Mr. Moore, by whose side Mr. Gosse appears academic and conventional, though he is occasionally forced into the expression of an evidently sincere and "unofficial" opinion. "The English novel," Mr. Moore declares, "is silly, illiterate, sentimental, erudite, and pompous by turns; but serious, never!" In the attempt to prove his case—one may leave it to the happy and candid reader to judge how far he is successful—he sports gayly and disrespectfully with great reputations, while Mr. Gosse sits uncomfortably by like some dun-colored bird in the presence of a fascinating serpent. Mr. Moore's opinion of Defoe, setting aside the first part of "Robinson Crusoe," would make Professor Trent shudder; and his remarks on Fielding's indifference to nature, his passionlessness, and his lack of any glimpse into "the world within," would raise the hair on Professor Cross's head. "Tom Jones" has been accepted as the classic example of English prose narrative only because its fame became established in the eighteenth century when the drawing-rooms needed entertainment and could get nothing better. Smollett is allowed gusto but he is utterly devoid of the seriousness which is the object of Mr. Moore's quest. Scott fares badly because he turned literature into a trade and had no knowledge of the human heart. The Brontës receive perhaps the severest treatment of all; but Dickens for his vulgarity, Thackeray for his superficiality, Trollope for his "trollopy" style, this one for lack of feeling, that one for lack of breeding, another for lack of form—all are unceremoniously hustled overboard save five writers of narrative prose in English.

Two of these, Poe and Hawthorne, are Americans; their work

is praised with quite exquisite discrimination. A third is Jane Austen. The most likable thing about Mr. Moore is the whole-hearted admiration that he bestows upon great artists. It was Jane Austen who introduced "the burning human heart" into English fiction in the story of Marianne's love for the young man who trifled with her while in reality seeking a rich marriage. Mr. Moore weighs his admirations as carefully as his dislikes; he thinks that the motive of curiosity lies a little outside Miss Austen's art and that she would have done better to have informed the reader at once of the false lover's intentions. A fourth novelist whom Mr. Moore praises is Sterne, whom he presumably admires for the possession of certain qualities, some admirable and others detestable, that are very evident in Mr. Moore himself. Lastly, there is Walter Pater, whose "Marius" is praised as the one wholly serious English work of fiction, undeformed by any joke bad or good, carried through from beginning to end in one tone—the one work of English narrative prose to which men of letters of the far future will turn back with delight.

Thus the book wanders leisurely on, now as a dialogue, now as an essay. A remark dropped in one place is elaborated later. The seed that falls in one of the conversations with Mr. Gosse blooms later in an admirable comparative study of Tolstoi and Turgenev. The ugliness of Tolstoi's view of life is contrasted with the dream-world of the marvellous story-teller who arose in the Crimea, where there was once a Greek colony, and produced in "On the Eve," "a last effort of Greek genius." Turgenev and Balzac are the master story-tellers of the ages; and the long appreciation of the Russian novelist is followed presently by the lecture in French on "Balzac and Shakespeare," which Mr. Moore delivered in Paris in 1910. At the end of his book he returns to the subject that has occupied him so much: the present condition of art in the world. He despairs of art during the phase of the world's history through which we are now passing; but he looks forward to a happy time, when the coal and petroleum that have so marred life will have been exhausted. And then in a new simplicity of life art will return to earth.

SAMUEL C. CHEW

A Novel for Critics

Legend. By Clemence Dane. The Macmillan Company.

THERE are, in the harsh phrase, poets' poets and novelists' novelists. Here is a story not only for the novelist but for the critic. It is a very short book, but one of very extraordinary richness and intricacy. Roads lead from it into all the regions of literature and life. One might follow any one of them and reach the uplands of high speculation. It has scarcely any predecessors except a few stories of the literary life that belong to Henry James's middle period: "The Lesson of the Master," "The Death of the Lion." Though far closer in texture and unwavering in vision, it also, at moments, recalls Gissing's "New Grub Street." Technically it stands alone in English fiction. In other literatures its structural method is not unknown.

The single scene is the drawing-room of the critic, Anita Serle. It is the occasion of her monthly "at home," and the small group present consists wholly of writers. Anita's mother and her young cousin, Jenny Summer, who, years later, records the memories of that evening, are the only naïve minds there. About the scene there is something very hot and bright, and its shadows have a ghostly definiteness of outline. Now and then the mellow London fog swirls in and the sense of the isolation of these people grows acuter. The talk lacks inner impulse at first because the very soul and centre of these evenings, the novelist Madala Grey, is absent. Of late her absences have been frequent; she is almost a deserter, having gone off into the country and married a simple doctor. Now she is ill. Yet Anita cannot, even at this moment, forgive her that defection from the service of art. There is an inner hush in spite of the chatter until the painter, Kent Rehan, comes in with the crushing announcement of Madala's death. In the tragic excitement

of the hour Anita lets herself go. She confesses having played Boswell to the genius and the life of Madala. She is the literary executor and will write the dead woman's biography. And in the course of the evening she builds up her "legend" of that life, a legend which is corrected for us by the very memories and documents she displays and misinterprets, by the choric comments of her aged mother's wandering mind, by the clean, human perceptions of little Jenny Summer, and by the few gestures and infinitely expressive silences of Kent Rehan. The projected "life" will be false to the core. For Madala Grey was not the problematic soul of Anita's critical rationalization. She wrote "Eden Walls" and "Ploughed Fields" by the free effort of an inborn story-teller's gift. She was a being all simple goodness and spontaneous charm—a creature of the clearest human sunlight to whom her country doctor was not (as Anita supposes) a refuge from some passionate experience, but in truth the fulfillment of life. "Can literature fill my emptiness?" Madala had written in a letter which, according to Anita, could never have been addressed to the homespun Dr. Carey. "Are the books I write children to love me with your eyes?" The condemnation of the critical intelligence here given us is complete.

But was Anita's cold intellect really quite so warped and barren? The author, of course, carries out her intention and by her exquisite and vivid indirection makes every reality of Madala Grey's true being a rebuke to Anita. But she has placed in our hands two documents that make poor Anita's position defensible, to say the least. Unlike other novelists and playwrights who deal with the life of art Clemence Dane has given us two specimens of her protagonist's work. She has quoted for us seven pages of "Eden Walls." And those seven pages—letters and glimpses and arguments aside—were written by Anita Serle's Madala Grey and not by Jenny Summer's or Kent Rehan's or the eerie old mother's. If Clemence Dane were to reply that she herself, of course, composed those pages and that she composed them through the effort of a quite pure and quite untroubled imagination—we can only say that her case is an exception, a sport, a spontaneous variation, a *lusus naturæ*. Literature and life are one. And that was, in essence, the only and the perfectly correct assumption of the unlovely and belabored Anita. It is not necessary, of course, for the artist to have had the precise adventures of his characters. But those adventures must grow from the seeds of an inner experience, whether direct or vicarious. Experience is the starting point, the indispensable raw material which the imagination, constantly guided and corrected by the observing mind, amplifies and transforms. It is that seed of experience which Anita sought; it is its necessary existence that Clemence Dane implicitly denies. Or, rather, she denies it in essential matters and admits it in accidentals. The poor prostitute in "Eden Walls" yearns for the countryside of her youth. And that is derived from Madala's passionate attachment to her native village. It harmonized with that view of Madala's character which was to convince us and to damn Anita. But if the seed of experience was necessary here, it was equally necessary to account for other aspects of Madala Grey's books. Their intensity and completeness of vision, furthermore, argue an artistic self-consciousness, discipline, and absorption which go ill with the innocent temper of a girl who holds her art well lost for flowers and children and the darning of a good man's socks. The creative act is itself an experience that commands the whole soul and commands it permanently whether through triumph or despair. It would be not only possible but an act of justice to rewrite "Legend" in the opposite sense, to let the simple-hearted Madala of Jenny and Kent turn before our eyes into the subtle and impassioned creature that Anita sought, and thus to change the book from the critic's damnation into his defense. But what should arise most clearly from all these considerations is the fact of Clemence Dane's immense ability. The "letter'd heart" could enjoy an endless series of books like "Legend," if they were to be had.

Books in Brief

WE have heard a good deal, in the last few years, about the debt of gratitude owed to France by the United States. Strangely enough, we have heard less about the aid tendered us by Spain at the time of the American Revolution. Doubtless that slight injustice will be rectified in case the interests of Spain and the United States should ever coincide. Elizabeth S. Kite in her "Beaumarchais and the War of American Independence" (Badger) tries to lay before us a record of the services of the author of the "Barbier de Séville." We see Beaumarchais in one of the numerous dark periods of his eventful career, suffering from deprivation of his civil rights, engaged in secret negotiations in London on behalf of the King of France. Anxious to reinstate himself in the good graces of that king, he takes it upon himself to plead the espousal by France of the cause of the American colonies. With his never-failing canniness he combines his enthusiasm for liberty with a promising scheme for enriching himself; whereupon we follow the history of that interesting commercial house Roderigue Hortalès et Cie, which furnished supplies to the American army in return for American products. Beaumarchais did not enrich himself, for the Americans failed to reimburse him, as they should have done and as he had expected them to do, and he becomes, indeed, a kind of martyr to the cause of American independence. Doniol's "Histoire de la participation de la France dans l'établissement des Etats-Unis," the biographies of Beaumarchais by Gudin de la Brenellerie, Loménie, and Lintilhac have furnished, along with Beaumarchais's own works, the bulk of the present text, which, indeed, "claims to be very little else than a bringing together of the documentary material bearing upon the subject, and so arranged as to make a continuous story." The story is interesting. But a work which purports to be nothing more than a presentation to the American public of accessible—and generally published—documents might be more highly recommended if the translations had been done with more skill.

Drama

An American Tragedy

THE performance of Eugene G. O'Neill's tragedy "Beyond the Horizon" at the Morosco Theatre establishes America's kinship with the stage of the modern world. "The Great Divide" was a melodrama, though a melodrama written by a man of genius; Stuart Walker's "Jonathan Makes a Wish" dissolved into a wraith after its quietly beautiful first act; Susan Glaspel's "Bernice" never wholly emerged from that shadowy spirit land in which it was born. What else that one could bear to mention in the world of the drama has appeared on our living stage? A few isolated one-act plays. Here at last is a full-bodied dramatic work which, whatever its ultimate and absolute value, exists in the fullest, in the richest sense today.

Mr. O'Neill is a naturalist. And that is fortunate. For not only does our theatre need, above all things, a stirring and sanative contact with reality, but it is already clear that the naturalistic is the greatest and most memorable mood of the modern drama. The French theatre is lapsing into the sensational and the flashy, the German into the morbid and fantastic; Galsworthy has no successor. The neo-romanticism of all countries has shown itself, despite feverish attempts, sterile in the drama. It was the naturalistic movement that added new fields to our dramatic experience, enlarged the boundaries of imaginative sympathy, and struck the fires of beauty from what a harder and shallower philosophy had held to be the common and the mean. And it did so by producing the illusion of reality through the use of the authentic speech of living men heard at living moments.

BRENTANO'S RECOMMEND

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W. B. Wilson

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Of the two types of naturalistic tragedy Mr. O'Neil has chosen the less austere in method and the less concentrated in dramatic energy. He has not taken the culminating point of a long and wearing conflict, the final flaming or shattering of patient souls. He has shown us that conflict itself as it came to his characters in the guise of dragging years and fading vigor and of slow drought invading the very sources of their lives. And he has derived it from a most natural, a most innocent, and a most tragic circumstance. Robert Mayo, the born dreamer, seeker, and wanderer, suddenly finds his young love returned. He was about to set sail for the Indies of his imagination. The inner monitor is not silent. He has a moment of sharp misgiving. But to the inexperienced country lad there is no way out. He is bound by his own love and by Ruth's. He must settle down on the farm. Essentially the tragic action is even now complete. But Mr. O'Neil fortunately knows that the aim of the drama is not surprise, but unfolding; that it arouses not suspense but foreknowledge, that the tragic outcome must be the last link in that chain of causality of which the earliest words and gestures of the characters are the first. Hence the second and third acts tell with a great variety and wealth of human circumstance the story of a gradual and at last utterly forlorn decay. For all that Robert can do he falls into debt; honestly as he strives he cannot grapple with recalcitrant material things, and even his good will is broken by the slow revelation—brilliantly projected in the play's most perfect scene—that Ruth had bought his life only with the bloom and headiness of her youth. Her soul is barren and dry and without understanding. It is through her character that the tragedy is now worked out. And by that method Mr. O'Neil gives clearest evidence of his creative imagination. Yet he is quite fair to her. It was her fate to be hard and insensitive and impenetrable to her husband's charm and goodness. She is sullen to the end, although the reiterated blows of fate seem, at the last moment, to wring from her stubborn heart a dull sense of its own unworthiness. One has a vision of her sitting through the years in that decaying house, brooding now upon the injustice, now upon the bitter justice of her fate. And that vision, together with Robert's death and the peacelessness of Andrew, produces in us, as every good tragedy does, the impression—to use the words of a great critic—"that our consciousness of what it means to be human has grown riper."

The production of "Beyond the Horizon," which we owe to the courage and sagacity of Mr. John D. Williams, illustrates once more the hidden possibilities of our actors. In the evening Mr. Richard Bennett is an absurd district attorney in an absurd melodrama. In the afternoon he plays the part of Robert Mayo with a delicate blending of intellectual virility and the elegiac grace of a conquered spirit. He shows himself capable of a beautifully unobtrusive reality of detail that grows out of a both strong and sensitive grasp of the character he represents. Miss Helen MacKellar, borrowed from that even shabbier melodrama "The Storm," is artificial in tone and gesture in the opening act. Later she rises magnificently to her oppor-

tunities. She shows us the gradual draining of Ruth's hopes, the pathos and abandon of that poverty-stricken nature, its despair and ultimate misgiving. And the production also illustrates the drama's independence of that narrower craftsmanship of the theatre which a perverse theory would substitute for the art it should serve. The scenery here is cheap and poor. The backdrops in the out-of-door scenes are daubs. But when Robert Mayo turns his eyes toward the horizon of his dreams, we do not see the wretched paint he looks at because the dramatist has first persuaded our spiritual vision to follow the direction of his gaze. In the cottage itself the indications of a sooty lamp and a broken chair suffice to give us that chill of loneliness and desolation of which we are already convinced by the speech and movements of the human souls before us. Grasping the essence of art, we feel the lack of nothing accidental; possessing the higher truth, we must bethink ourselves to become aware of the lower's absence.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

LENIN

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And the Impressions of

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International Relations Section

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An Unpublished Document

Washington, February 12

PRESIDENT WILSON presented the following document relating to the policy of intervention in Siberia to the British, French, Italian, and Japanese Ambassadors at Washington on March 3, 1918. It must have been addressed to the Japanese Government. It has never before been published. The document, of course, was presented through the Department of State, and presumably bore the signature of Secretary Lansing; but there need be no misapprehension as to its authorship; it bears the characteristic manner and style of President Wilson. The circumstances under which this note was delivered also make it permissible to attribute authorship to the President. No one but him could have come to such a momentous decision. Had it been published, the world would have recognized it at once as an expression of Presidential policy; and in default of its publication, the press was full of rumors as to the course which the President had determined upon. For over a month, great pressure had been exerted by France and England in favor of Japanese intervention in Siberia. It is doubtful if Japan itself took the initiative in this matter, but the French and British Governments both urged Japanese action in Siberia, a fact which is admitted in the note under consideration. In addition, a powerful propaganda in the press supporting the same policy had emanated from London and Paris; and several newspapers, anticipating the event, had already promised their readers that America was favorably disposed and that Japan would immediately intervene in Siberia.

Against this action President Wilson took a vigorous stand. He did it in the note presented below; but he withheld the document from the world. The text here used is that of a telegram received by Colonel Raymond Robins in Petrograd from Ambassador Francis in Vologda. It is without date, but must have arrived in Petrograd two or three days after the delivery of the note in Washington; that is, not later than March 6, 1918. Lenin had signed the treaty of Brest-Litovsk at Petrograd on March 4, and was preparing to go to Moscow, where the All-Russian Congress of Soviets was to consider the ratification of the treaty. The Congress ratified the Brest-Litovsk treaty on March 15.

In this telegram the body of the President's note is prefaced by a message from Ambassador Francis to Colonel Robins, commenting on the note itself, and instructing Colonel Robins to "discreetly impart the substance of same to the proper parties." In other words, Colonel Robins was authorized to give it to Lenin, as a "carefully framed" outline of "our policy on Japanese invasion." The condition of our representation in Russia at that time should be clearly borne in mind. Ambassador Francis had no direct dealings with the Soviet Government, since the Department of State refused to recognize the authority of the Soviets. Colonel

Robins, as head of the American Red Cross in Russia, had been authorized by Ambassador Francis to act in a semi-official capacity between him and the Soviet Government, and to establish and maintain relations with the latter. Colonel Robins accompanied Lenin and the Government to Moscow a week later to attend the Soviet Congress.

It has been claimed by friends of the State Department and its Russian policy that Colonel Robins never acted with official sanction in Russia, that he never had the confidence of Ambassador Francis, and that what he did carried no weight. Ambassador Francis himself has lent color to this statement. The exact contrary, however, is the fact. Whatever the Ambassador's attitude to the Robins policy may have been later on, after Colonel Robins had returned to America, and after America had entered upon counter-revolutionary activities in Russia, the plain inference of the following telegram cannot be denied. Early in March, 1918, when this telegram was written, and when the Soviet Government had been four months in power, Ambassador Francis obviously had no lack of confidence in Colonel Robins, and quite as obviously was using him as an official agent with the Soviet Government. The text of the telegram follows:

The following confidential message received by me from the Department, with some words unintelligible. Cannot definitely determine where or to whom Polk delivered this carefully framed message, but nevertheless it outlines our policy on Japanese invasion. You should, if it appears advisable, discreetly impart the substance of same to the proper parties. Polk's preface states message was sent on March 3rd, to be read in some place, and that he had read same at a dinner to the Ambassadors of France, England, and Italy. The message follows:

"The most careful and anxious consideration has been given by the American Government to the prevailing conditions in Siberia and a possible remedy therefor. It is cognizant of the peril of anarchy which surrounds the Siberian provinces and also the overshadowing risk of German invasion. It shares with the Governments of Blank and Blank the view that if intervention is deemed advisable the Government of Japan is in complete touch with the situation and could accomplish it most efficiently. It has, moreover, the utmost confidence in the Japanese Government and would be entirely willing, so far as its own feelings towards that Government are concerned, to entrust the enterprise to it.

"But it is bound in frankness to say that the wisdom of intervention seems to it most questionable. If it were undertaken, emphasizing the assumption that the most explicit assurances would be given that it was undertaken by Japan as an ally of Russia, in Russia's interest, and with the sole view of holding it safe against Germany and at the absolute disposition of the final peace conference. . . . [This sentence is incomplete.] Otherwise, the Central Powers could and would make it appear that Japan was doing in the East exactly what Germany is doing in the West, and so seek to counter the condemnation which all the world must pronounce against Germany's invasion of Russia, which she attempts to justify on the pretext of restoring order. And it is the judgment of the United States, uttered with the utmost respect, that even with such assurances, they could in the same way be discredited by those whose interest it was to discredit them; and that a hot resentment would be generated in Russia, and particularly of the enemies of the Russian Revolution, for which the Government of the United States entertains the greatest sympathy in spite of all the unhappiness and misery which has for the time being sprung out of it.

"The Government of the United States begs once more to

express to the Government of Japan its warmest friendship and confidence, and once more begs it to accept these expressions of judgment as uttered only in the frankness of friendship."

This message sent to Ambassador for his confidential information and guidance, and of course will be very discreetly used by you. . . . Received your report delivery President's message. Another important message on same subject not completely deciphered. At what hour tomorrow do you wish to receive same on this wire?

The note embodied in this telegram amounts to a forceful declaration of American policy in Russia. In the above text it closes abruptly, creating the suspicion that a passage may have been lost from the original. In fact, many passages may have been dropped in transit. The document, however, is fairly clear and full. It lays down "the judgment of the United States" that "even with such assurances" (assurances of Japanese fairness and unselfishness), intervention in Siberia could be "discredited." It prophesies that such a course would generate "a hot resentment, . . . and particularly of the enemies of the Russian Revolution" (presumably "toward" or "against" the enemies of the Russian Revolution). And it expresses once more, in the tone of the speech of January 8, the sympathy of America for the Revolution.

This note was delivered on March 3, 1918; but, withheld from general knowledge, it did not become a part of policy. Since that date, and up to the present time, it is fair to say that America has had no Russian policy, in the sense of a policy based on clear intention. Policy, indeed, we have had in every other sense, and especially on the score of physical results; we have intervened with troops in Russia, and engaged in warfare against the Russian people without a declaration of war, in defiance of our constitutional limitations; we have assisted counter-revolution against the Soviet Government; we have interfered with the weight of our power and influence in the internal affairs of Russia, in spite of innumerable protestations to the contrary; we have, in fact, followed a consistent course of action, based on the assumption that the Soviet Government did not represent the will of the Russian people, which assumption entailed the further assumption that it lay within our province to determine what the will of the Russian people ought to be.

This action was laid down, or rather admitted, in the statement of August 4, 1918, agreeing that American troops should enter Siberia in conjunction with Japanese and Allied contingents, to protect the military stores at Vladivostok, to frustrate the movements of German and Austrian war prisoners, and chiefly to assist the "westward moving" Czecho-Slovak regiments along the Trans-Siberian Railway. Yet in spite of concrete and far-reaching results, it was never a well-rounded or vigorously supported policy. We specified at the beginning that we would put only a small contingent of troops in Siberia—this to obviate the claim that we were adopting a policy of actual intervention. We announced with vehement unction that we had no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Russia, that we were merely "helping the Russian people," and that they must be free to choose their own government. We appointed a mild and fair-minded man to command our troops. At the same time the Department of State lost no opportunity to spread the most prejudiced form of anti-Bolshevist propaganda. Although a plain continuity of action extends from the note of August, 1918, through intervention, warfare, and political manipulation of the most open character, to our

final participation in an economic blockade against all Russia beyond the counter-revolutionary lines, it is a fact that the State Department today denies that it has ever participated in the economic blockade as a matter of policy.

This indeterminate position is a direct reflection of President Wilson's remarkable psychology, which has been nowhere more clearly shown than in his attitude toward the Russian Revolution. It may be said that from the moment the Soviet Government assumed control of Russia, President Wilson has felt deep sympathy for the policy which he ought to have adopted: namely, the policy of recognizing the Soviets. Had he possessed true information at the beginning, or had he not been surrounded by false information—had he dreamed that what has happened could have happened, and that the Soviet Government expressed the permanent will of Russia—I think there can be no question that he would have laid down the correct Russian policy for America and the Allies. But, continually afraid of taking the wrong step, and lacking either information or conviction to set him right, he gradually succumbed to vigorous intent on the part of France and Great Britain, in the meantime retaining in secret his original sympathetic inclination. Throughout the spring of 1918 he was distrustful of the attitude of the Allies toward Russia. He was alive to the propaganda for intervention that was being conducted in the press. He staved off intervention for six months, and finally consented to it in the latter part of July, only because he felt it to be inevitable. He agreed to participate with American troops in the belief that the enterprise would be cleaner if we were a part of it; we participated in order to "watch" Japan, France, and England. Thus, quite sincerely, according to his tenets, he was able to convince himself that we had not actually intervened.

But this does not explain the President's failure to give immediately to the world his note of March 3, 1918, on the subject of Japanese intervention. Here he had come to a decision, and had arrived more nearly at establishing a Russian policy than in any document either before or since. He had taken a stand in the face of extremely powerful pressure from France and England, and from practically the whole press of the world. He had stated the true argument against all intervention in Russia; he had dealt with the permanent factors of the situation. Had this note been published at the time, its effect on policy would have been incalculable. President Wilson would have been publicly committed, on the soundest of grounds, to opposition to intervention. His argument would have been adopted by liberal forces everywhere, and would have become definitely fixed in public opinion and in American policy.

Failing to publish this note, he was able in August of the same year completely to reverse his own position. In the face of his own analysis of the dangers involved, he himself participated in intervention, satisfying his conscience, as is his habit, by a specious formula which permitted him to hold that he had not actually succumbed. And the results of his act have been precisely along the lines prophesied by him on March 3, 1918, although with far wider application than he foresaw. Intervention has been "discredited," not only by those to whose interest it was to discredit it, but also by those whose pride and honor had been involved. A "hot resentment" has been generated not only in Russia, but also in America, in England, in France, in Italy, and even in Japan.

LINCOLN COLCORD.

The Adriatic Dispute

THE London *Times* for January 28 prints the following proposals offered at various times for the settlement of the Adriatic dispute.

The difficulty is complicated by ethnographical, historical, and geographical considerations, as well as the conflicting strategic and commercial requirements of the two parties. It arose out of the Treaty of London, which provided a frontier for Italy, drawn presumably as a defense against future Austrian aggression. The Yugoslavs contend that such a frontier is unnecessary against a state which is at once friendly to and weaker than Italy, and points out that it violates the ethnological principles adopted by the Peace Conference.

THE TREATY OF LONDON: On April 26, 1915, France, Great Britain, and Russia guaranteed to Italy all the territory to the west of the line shown in the adjoining map and a considerable tract of continental Dalmatia, including Zara and Sebenico. Italy was also to receive the islands of Cherso, Lussin, Pago, Grossa and adjacent islands, Lissa, Lesina, Curzola, Lagosta, Meleda, and Pelagosa. The Dalmatian coast was to be neutralized, as well as the coast as far south as Durazzo. Italy was to receive Avlona in sovereignty and control the foreign relations of Albania. There were also other provisions, which do not affect the Adriatic question, but Italy did not acquire a right to Fiume by this treaty.

The publication of this treaty, which was intended to be kept secret, aroused the apprehension of the Yugoslavs, and after a prolonged conference the delegates of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, assembled in Corfu, issued, on July 20, 1917

THE DECLARATION OF CORFU, proclaiming the union of the three peoples, and claiming all territory compactly inhabited by them, which "cannot be mutilated without attain to the vital interests of the community. Our nation demands nothing that belongs to others, but only what is our own."

This was an important counter-step to the partition of Dalmatia proposed in the Treaty of London, but the stress of war made it possible for the Italians and Yugoslavs to come to an amicable arrangement which was embodied in

THE TORRE-TRUMBITCH AGREEMENT. On March 7, 1918, the representatives of the two nations engaged to settle amicably the various territorial controversies in the interest of the future good and sincere relations between the two peoples, on the basis of the principles of nationality and of the right of peoples to decide their own destiny. Linguistic and economic interests of such minorities as might have to be included in the national territory of either party were also guaranteed.

The decisions arrived at in London in March were confirmed a month later when

THE PACT OF ROME was promulgated on April 10, 1918, to the effect that the unity and independence of the Yugoslav nation was recognized by Italy and that all territorial controversies would be settled in a friendly manner according to the principles of nationality.

This attitude did not long survive the necessity which had produced it, and the defeat of Austria-Hungary brought about a reversion to a less accommodating frame of mind on the part of the Italians. In February, 1919, Italy definitely declined to submit the questions at issue to arbitration. In spite of this, however, on April 14, 1919, President Wilson presented a memorandum to the Italian peace delegation in Paris.

THE WILSON LINE: This provided for a frontier as shown on the adjoining map, and accorded the whole continental coast of Dalmatia, as well as Fiume and Volosca, to Yugoslavia. Lissa and Avlona were allotted to Italy, and the destruction of all Austrian fortifications on Dalmatian islands was proposed under the supervision of the League of Nations. The President further advocated the restriction of Yugoslav naval forces to the strength required for policing coasts and islands. Shortly

after this offer was made the Italian delegation withdrew from the Peace Conference and retired to Rome (April 24, 1919), when the Italian Cabinet received a vote of confidence in the Chamber. On May 6 the delegation again arrived in Paris and resumed negotiations.

THE FIRST MAY COMPROMISE: On May 14, 1919, the Italians and Yugoslavs unofficially discussed a compromise. This advocated the retention of Fiume by Italy and of Sussah by Yugoslavia. That section of the port of Fiume lying between the River Retchina and the railway station to be leased for ninety-nine years to Yugoslavia, but administered by a joint board of Italians and Yugoslavs.

THE SECOND MAY COMPROMISE: On May 29 it was announced that President Wilson had approved of a settlement accepted by Signor Orlando on behalf of Italy. This constituted Fiume, without Sussah, but with territory to the west reaching to the Italian frontier, as an independent state to be controlled by the League of Nations. Italy renounced her claim to the Dalmatian hinterland, but obtained Zara and Sebenico in full sovereignty, and also the islands of Cherso, Lussin, Lissa, and Pelagosa. Italy was also to have a mandate over Albania.

This compromise did not, however, commend itself to the Yugoslavs, and a fresh scheme was put forward.

THE WASHINGTON SOLUTION: On August 25 a memorandum was published embodying a project then under consideration in Washington. This constituted a free port area partly in Fiume and including the Baros port of Sussah, to be administered by the League of Nations for ninety-nine years. Italy would hold Fiume in sovereignty, but the League would administer the railways running into it.

This solution did not prove acceptable, although the Italians are understood to have been willing to approve.

D'ANNUNZIO'S ANNEXATIONS: The negotiations in Paris were interrupted by the news that on September 12, 1919, Gabriele d'Annunzio had occupied Fiume with an armed force and proclaimed its annexation to Italy. The Powers regarded this event as a matter between the Italian Government and the poet, and for some time the question was shelved pending an arrangement on this point.

There was for a time a good deal of excitement in Italy, and appeals were made to national sentiment in a variety of proposals, which need not now be recalled. The next considered suggestion for settling the difficulty was contained in

THE TITTONI SCHEME. On October 13, 1919, Signor Tittoni forwarded a memorandum to the Peace Conference in Paris. This proposed the constitution of an independent state of considerable size, composed of Fiume, Adelsberg, and Idria to form a buffer between Italy and Yugoslavia. Volosca, and parts of western Istria were allotted to Italy, in order to assure continuity of Italian territory right up to the walls of Fiume; Zara to be a free city, but to be represented diplomatically by Italy. The following islands were also allotted to Italy in full sovereignty: Cherso, Lussin, Lissa, Pelagosa, and Lagosta.

D'Annunzio extended the scope of his activity to Zara, but in course of time his administration became less popular in Fiume, and on December 15 the National Council of Fiume declared for independence and a common frontier with Italy. At the beginning of this month it was understood that the Italians were prepared to accept Istria and a few islands and to agree to autonomy for Fiume and Zara. A little later an Anglo-French scheme for a large independent Fiume and a division of the islands between this state and the two parties was submitted to the Peace Conference.

These proposals came to be modified, and a fresh offer was made, embodied in

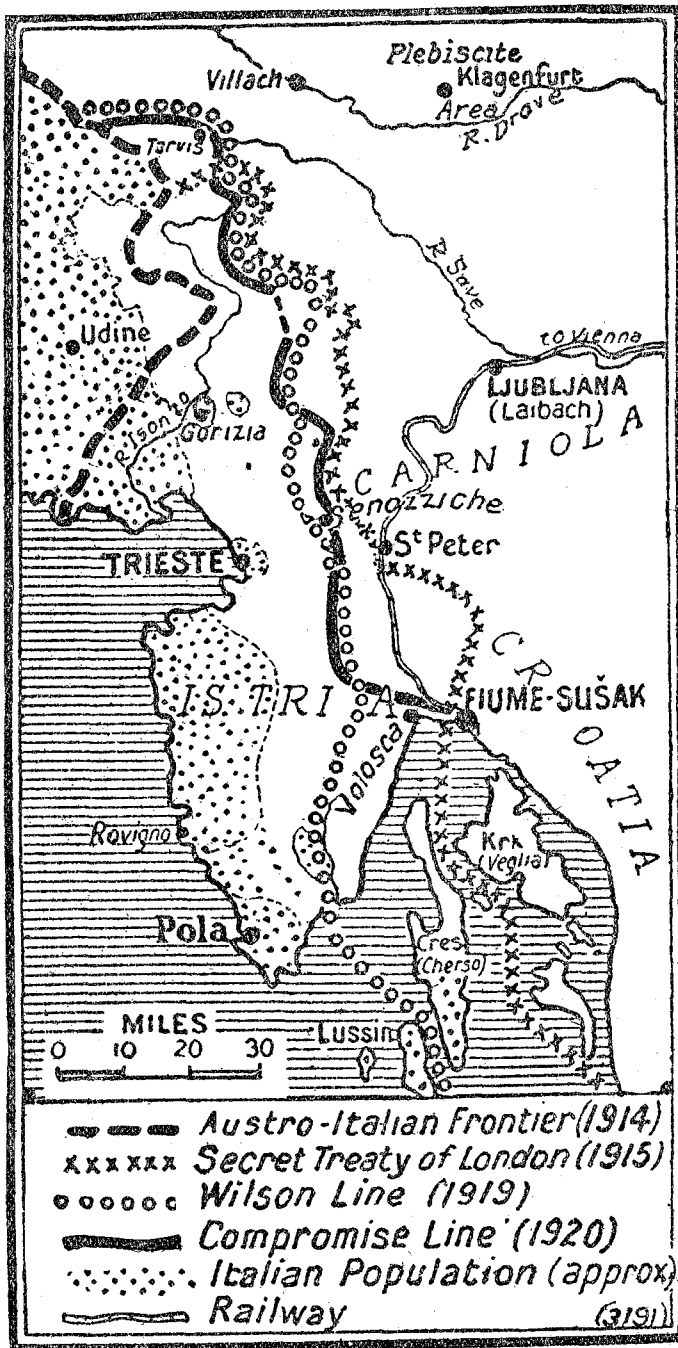
THE JANUARY COMPROMISE: This provides for a small autonomous Fiume, but allots western Istria and Volosca as far as the very walls of Fiume to Italy. Yugoslavia obtains Sussah while the port and railway station of Fiume and the port of Baros, which is part of Sussah, is to be administered by the League of Nations. Italy no longer requires the "demilitariza-

tion" of Sebenico, but retains the islands of Lussin, Lissa, and Pelagosa, while all Dalmatian islands awarded to Yugoslavia are to be demilitarized.

The Yugoslav delegation, although faced with the possible alternative of a reversion to the boundaries laid down in the Treaty of London, refused to accept the compromise, and their action was confirmed by the Government of Belgrade, which on January 20 in its turn submitted

THE BELGRADE PROPOSALS. In these the Yugoslavs accept the internationalization of Fiume and of Zara under the League of Nations, and consent to the annexation of Lussin and Pelagosa by Italy subject to their "demilitarization." They further recognize the right of the Italians of Dalmatia and the islands to retain their Italian nationality and to reside as foreigners in Yugoslav territory, and to have their economic rights guaranteed by international agreement.

[The Supreme Council answered the Belgrade proposals on the day of their receipt by an ultimatum giving the Yugoslav Government four days to accept the January compromise; the Treaty of London would otherwise be enforced. The time was extended three days, and on January 27 the Yugoslavs replied with a conciliatory refusal. The Treaty of London has not been enforced.]



The Belgrade Proposals

THE *Journal des Débats* (Paris) for January 22 prints the following reply of the Yugoslavs to the compromise plan for settlement of the Adriatic dispute, published in the International Relations Section of *The Nation* for February 7.

1. The *corpus separatum* of Fiume shall not be under Yugoslav sovereignty, and the independence of Fiume is accepted in principle.

In consequence the *corpus separatum* of Fiume, without the railroad and without the port, shall be an independent state under the sovereignty of the League of Nations, which also shall be charged with the diplomatic representation of Fiume.

The port of Fiume, including the great mole and the railway terminals at Fiume, as well as the equipment connected with these properties, shall belong to the League of Nations and shall be placed under the administration of the Serb-Croat-Slovene state, to which belong the railway lines terminating at Fiume, which have this port as their sole maritime outlet. The Serb-Croat-Slovene state shall have the right to develop the port and the railway, and should conclude negotiations with Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia, and Hungary for the benefit of the commerce of these countries. In case of disagreement the differences shall be settled by the Council of the League of Nations. The city of Sussah and the port of Baros, which forms an integral part of it and was constructed entirely for the lumber trade from Croatia, shall be designated as the property of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. This little port would be the only commercial outlet possessed completely by Yugoslavia on the whole of the Adriatic.

II. The frontier between Italy and Yugoslavia, which according to the Wilson line extends from the Julian Alps to the Arsa, is the only frontier which is in accord with geographic, strategic, and economic conditions, and it is entirely favorable to Italy. This frontier is accepted, although it seriously violates the principle of nationality in giving 400,000 Yugoslavs to Italy. This great sacrifice, such as no other Allied state has been obliged to make, is accepted by the Yugoslav people in the interests of agreement and of peace.

The totally unjustifiable annexation of purely Yugoslav territory beyond the Wilson line would constitute a new and very serious violation of the principle of nationality. Of necessity it would create within the Italian frontiers a permanent center of irredentism precisely similar to that which justified the claims of *Italia irredenta* asking its return to the mother country, which were so justly stressed in the London memorandum.

a) As to the question of the railway which, upon leaving Fiume, follows the coast: if this territory is accorded to Italy, insurmountable difficulties will arise almost daily in the exercise of the customs depots, the coast service, and similar services. This strangely shaped area between the sea and the railway, not more than a few yards wide, inevitably would create daily difficulties.

b) The extension of Italian territory, to the east of the Wilson line in the neighborhood of Senezetché (Seno Seccia), which necessitates shifting the frontier several miles to the east, cannot be justified by a desire to afford better protection to Trieste. On the contrary, the result of this measure would be to give Italy a new stretch of Yugoslav territory on the Senezetché (Seno Seccia) plateau, and to bring the Italian frontier only three or four miles from the important railway junction at San Pietro. This line, a vital artery of the Yugoslav country, thus would be threatened most seriously.

c) The purely Yugoslav districts include not only those bordering on the blue line drawn on the map accompanying this proposal; purely Yugoslav territory also is to be found to the

* Map omitted.

southward of Sénozetché (Seno Seccia) as far as the sea, territory roughly in the shape of a triangle. By the cession of this territory 60,000 more Jugoslavs would be given to Italy. The coast from the Arsa to Volosca, more than thirty miles, dominates the gulf of Fiume in which Italy has no legitimate interest. On the other hand the gulf of Fiume represents an essential condition of the existence of Jugoslavia, since it is the only commercial outlet of that state. By the cession of this territory to Italy, all the hinterland, which like the coast is inhabited by a purely Yugoslav population, would be barred from the sea.

III. As to Zara, although it is a city of only 12,000 inhabitants and represents only an isolated point in the midst of Yugoslav territory from which it draws its means of existence, the delegation does not insist that it be placed under Yugoslav sovereignty and agrees to the principle of its independence.

In consequence, Zara (the city only, not inclusive of the remainder of the territory of the commune of Zara) shall become an independent state under the sovereignty of the League of Nations, which shall be charged with its diplomatic representation.

The right of Fiume and Zara to choose their diplomatic representation cannot be admitted; if this choice were to devolve upon Italy it would constitute disguised annexation.

However, we again call attention most seriously to the fact that Zara, which possesses no means of independent existence, would be ruined economically if as an independent state it were to be separated from the remainder of Dalmatia, of which it has been the administrative center for centuries. Granted that there is no obstacle to the settlement of the question by according to Zara the most complete administrative autonomy under the protection of the League of Nations, nevertheless its establishment as an independent state, which would mean separation from the rest of Dalmatia, is in no way justifiable.

IV. As to Albania, the delegation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes again states, as it has stated from the beginning, that the best solution would be to entrust the administration of Albania, as that state was created by the Congress of Ambassadors at London in 1913, to an autonomous local government, without the interference of any foreign Power.

If this solution is not accepted, and if the plan is definitively adopted whereby other states receive parts of Albanian territory, the proposed frontier in northern Albania should be modified in accordance with the accompanying map. The Albanian districts as autonomous provinces would enjoy special regulations such as are stipulated in the treaty of peace with the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia for the autonomous Ruthenian province of Czecho-Slovakia.

V. To facilitate a settlement, the Serb-Croat-Slovene state agrees to the eventual demilitarization of the islands, thus making a great sacrifice, but on the condition that Lissa, which is purely Slav and which from an economic point of view is linked indissolubly with the rest of Dalmatia, be granted to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. In consequence the islands of Lussin and Pelagosa would belong to Italy and would be demilitarized like the other islands of the Adriatic.

Demilitarization shall consist in forbidding fortification of the islands; nevertheless battleships shall be permitted to circulate freely in their waters.

VI. The Serb-Croat-Slovene state recognizes the right of the Italians in Dalmatia to opt for Italian nationality without leaving the territory of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

VII. An international convention shall guarantee the rights acquired by Italian subjects in their industrial enterprises in Dalmatia.

VIII. Similarly, full and complete protection shall be guaranteed to the nationality, language, economic and intellectual development of the Yugoslav population remaining in Italy.

IX. The question of the distribution of the Austro-Hungarian navy and merchant marine is linked with the Adriatic problem.

In the matter of the merchant marine it is necessary that Jugoslavia and Italy be authorized immediately to effect a distribution of the ships on the basis of the decision of the Supreme Council of November 22, 1919.

As to the navy, the delegation asks, in accordance with its letters dated June 2, 1919, and January 8, 1920, of which copies are annexed, that the ships therein specified which are indispensable to the mere defense of the Yugoslav coasts, be attributed to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

Paris, January 20.

Books of the Week

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

Elliot, Hugh. *Modern Science and Materialism*. Longmans, Green. \$3.—Holt, Henry. *The Cosmic Relations and Immortality*. Volumes 1 and 2. Houghton Mifflin. \$10.—Religious Bodies, Parts 1 and 2. Bureau of the Census. Government Printing Office.—Sidis, Boris. *The Source and Aim of Human Progress*. Boston: Richard G. Badger.—Tweedale, Violet. *Ghosts I Have Seen*. Stokes. \$2.

SCIENCE

Pillsbury, W. B. *The Essentials of Psychology*. Macmillan.—Sommerville, D. M. Y. *The Elements of Non-Euclidean Geometry*. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Shackleton, Sir Ernest. *South: The Story of Shackleton's Last Expedition 1914-1917*. Macmillan. \$6.

EDUCATION AND TEXT BOOKS

Maloubier, Eugene F., and Justin H. Moore. *A French Dramatic Reader*. Macmillan. \$1.

MISCELLANEOUS

Gray, Grace Viall. *Every Step in Canning*. Chicago: Forbes & Co. \$1.25.—Lowry, Edith B. *The Woman of Forty*. Chicago: Forbes & Co. \$1.25.

"The Human Element in Economics"

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